Vol. XXV. No. 100 December 1936

STUDIES

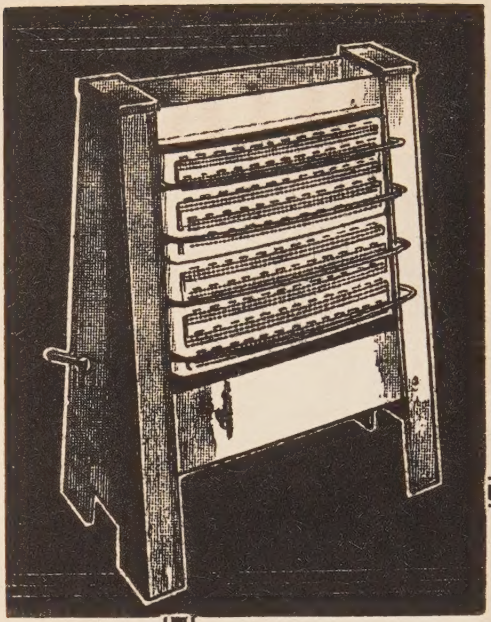
An Irish Quarterly Review

I. The Civil War in Spain
  i. The Paradox of the Basques — *E. Allison Peers*
  ii. Anarchism in Theory and Practice — *James Hogan*
II. The Future Population of Ireland — *George O'Brien*
III. Position of Catholics in Northern Ireland — *"Northman"*
IV. The Universities in the Middle Ages — *Aubrey Gwynn*
V. An Approach to Chinese Art .. — *Thomas Bodkin*
VI. Irish Bardic Poems—No. 40 .. — *Lambert McKenna*
VII. A Great Soul in Anguish: Ampere — *P. J. McLaughlin*
VIII. General Luis de Lacy in the Spanish Service — *P. MacBride*
IX. A Fresh View of Irish Politics .. — *Michael Tierney*
X. A Press Congress and Two Exhibitions — *Stephen J. Brown*
XI. The Popular Front in Spain and France — *Francis Joy*
XII. Reviews of Books

Dublin—The Educational Company of Ireland Limited
London and St. Louis—B. Herder
Melbourne—William P. Linehan

Single Copies - - - - 3s. 6d. net
Annual Subscription, post free to all countries, 15s. net
Subscriptions are payable in advance

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office in St. Louis



This is a pleasant, well-finished fire to suit any location. It is very reliable and efficient, and may be had in antique silver or bronze at **19/3** for the 2 k.w. size. Smaller size, 1 k.w., for a small room costs only **10/6**.

THERE'S NO REASON

to deprive yourself of the comfort of an Electric Fire on the score of cost. They are extremely economical in use, and you can buy a really efficient fire at a very low price. You'll be surprised at the extra comfort an Electric Fire brings to your home. Clean, immediate heat at a touch of the switch.

ELECTRICITY SALES SHOWROOMS

25 ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN . . *AND BRANCHES*

THE SOLUTION

CENTRAL HEATING by Musgrave

An inadequate heating system is a costly liability, whether in Church, School, Convent, Hospital, or any class of Public Building. To instal Central Heating is a profitable investment —safe, reliable, simple to control, inexpensive to operate. Musgrave will be pleased to advise you as to the method best suited to your requirements.

MUSGRAVE AND CO. (Dublin) LIMITED

19, EUSTACE STREET
DUBLIN — phone 22641.

Coláirte Oiliúna, Conaig.

(Oiliúint na h-Éireann)

Lánchúrsaí i gcóir Céimeann agus Dioplómaí ins na hábhair seo:

Ealaíona	Leigeas	Oligeach
Teangacha Ceiltiúcha	Fiaclóireacht	Oideachas
Eolaíocht	Dainneoliúlacht	Innealtóireacht
Tráchtáil		Ceol

Tuairisg iomlán ar choinneallaibh agus ar costas na gCéim is na mDioplómaí san, agus gach eolas i dtaobh an Choláiste agus a áisiúnachta, le fagáil act fios do chur orta go dtí **An Rúnaíde.**

Tá ag an gColáiste seo suim de sgoláireachtaibh luachmara gur féidir lánchúnntas orta d'fagáil ón **Clárabóir,** ag an gColáiste.

Tá cluichemhag 15 n-acra ag an gColáiste, i gcóir gach saghas cluichí.

Osduidheacht chompórdach le fagáil san HONAN HOSTEL ag fearaibh Caitliceacha ar costas an-réasúnta. Séipéil agus Séiplíneach Cómnuidheach. Gach eolas 'na thaobh le fagáil ón **Coimeádaidhe.**

Ionad den tsórd chéadna do mhnáibh Caitliceacha iseadh LA RETRAITE. Tuilleadh eolais 'na thaobh le fagáil ón Banabaidh.

Tá liosta ann de lóistínibh, go bfuil ceadh dóibh ón Uachtarán agus ó na Déanaibh Aitribhe. Féadaid tuismigheóirí agus gairdeain feidhm do bhaint as an liosta san, act a lorg ón **Rúnaíde.**

NATIONAL CITY BANK

(Affiliated to Bank of Ireland) LIMITED

10 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

WILLS AND EXECUTORS

By appointing the National City Bank, Ltd., as Executor of your Will you are absolutely assured that your wishes will be faithfully and fully carried out. You may appoint a friend to act along with the Bank as co-executor and co-trustee, and thus combine in the management of your estate the experience, facilities and responsibility of a Trust Corporation with the special family or business knowledge of an individual.

The Bank also acts as Trustee, in all capacities, of funds and property.

Full particulars and brochure may be had on application

The National City Bank, Limited, offers to the public a complete Banking service.

THE

PATRIOTIC Assurance Company Ltd.

FIRE, ACCIDENT, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, BURGLARY, MOTOR, &c. &c.

Registered and Head Office **9 College Green, DUBLIN, C1**

CAPITAL FULLY PAID £150,000.

DIRECTORS

LAURENCE W. MARTIN, Esq., Chairman

RT. HON. THE EARL OF WICKLOW MAJOR T. D. HALLINAN

THOMAS GEOGHEGAN, Esq., F.C.A.

Low Rates of Premium and prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims

The position of the Company is amply secured independent of Capital

PROPOSAL FORM AND ALL INFORMATION ON APPLICATION TO COMPANY'S AGENTS, OR TO **T. C. MACDOUGALD, Manager & Secretary**

THE HIBERNIAN FIRE :: AND GENERAL INSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED :: ::

ESTABLISHED 1908

HEAD OFFICES: 48 & 49 Dame St., Dublin

BRANCHES: Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Derry and Galway

The Leading Irish Insurance Company for :

FIRE, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, MOTOR, THIRD PARTY, FIDELITY, BURGLARY, AND PLATE GLASS

CLAIMS PAID EXCEED £800,000

THE NATIONAL BANK

LIMITED

ESTABLISHED 1835

34 COLLEGE GREEN
DUBLIN

CAPITAL £7,500,000.

13 OLD BROAD STREET
LONDON, E.C.2

EXECUTOR and TRUSTEE

Appointments accepted as Executor and Trustee of Wills, Trustee of Settlements, Trustee for Debenture Holders, etc. The Bank will act jointly with another Executor or Trustee if desired and will have regard to the wishes of customers in the employment of Solicitors and other professional agents.

INCOME TAX

Expert attention given to Repayment Claims, Returns for Assessment, etc.

FULL INFORMATION MAY BE OBTAINED FROM ANY BRANCH OF THE BANK OR BY DIRECT APPLICATION TO ITS PRINCIPAL OFFICES

ESSE-FINE COOKING AT LITTLE COST

Efficient and extremely economical in use, the popular ESSE MAJOR will save you pounds every year in running costs. This massive, well-built Heat Storage Cooker is widely used in schools, hotels, hospitals, institutions, etc. No other cooker has achieved such remarkable success for large scale catering. The ESSE MAJOR burns continuously, requires the minimum of attention and is ready for instant use at any hour of the day or night. Fuel—Irish anthracite is suitable.

For larger residences—**THE PREMIER ESSE**
For smaller houses—**THE ESSE MINOR**

All models are available with built-in water heater for domestic supply.

Please send us particulars of the number of people you cook for and a specimen menu, and we will submit to you, without obligation, an estimate for a suitable ESSE MAJOR installation. Write to Dept. S.

HIRE PURCHASE TERMS AT LOWEST RATES

THE ESSE COOKER COMPANY

BONNYBRIDGE, SCOTLAND • PROPRIETORS: SMITH & WELLSTOOD LTD. (Est. 1854)
WEST END SHOWROOMS AND DEMONSTRATING KITCHENS
63 CONDUIT STREET, LONDON, W.1. Central 3655 (6 lines)
Also at 11 LUDGATE CIRCUS, E.C.4, and at LIVERPOOL, EDINBURGH and GLASGOW

ESSE

books of appeal to Irish readers

JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF . . .

STEPHEN MACKENNA

Edited, with a Memoir, by E. R. DODDS

Preface by PADRAIC COLUM Illustrated **18/-**

FORREST REID (*Manchester Guardian*) : " Stephen Mackenna had a life that offered rich material for an autobiography of unusual interest, but the only personal record he left behind him was a journal kept between 1907 and 1909. It is a pity he abandoned his journal. The extracts we get are profoundly illuminating. This whole book clearly has been a labour of love, and with its introductory memoir forms a worthy tribute to an Irishman of genius who was also a man of rare charm and integrity of character "

BOOKS BY . . .

HELEN WADDELL

THE DESERT FATHERS	7/6	LYRICS FROM THE CHINESE	2/6
PETER ABELARD (a novel)	7/6	THE WANDERING SCHOLARS	7/6
MANON LESCAUT	5/-	MEDIEVAL LATIN LYRICS	7/6
ABBE PREVOST (a play)	15/-	BEASTS AND SAINTS (with Gibbings Woodcuts)	5/-
(750 *copies signed by the Author*)			

Constable

A New Book on the Blessed Virgin of Outstanding Importance

AN IDEAL GIFT BOOK

MARY

A STUDY OF THE MOTHER OF GOD

BY

VERY REV. FATHER CANICE, O.M.Cap.

Commissary Provincial of the Third Order

Demy 8vo. about 350 pages. **Handsomely bound in Blue Cloth**

12/6

" It will rank as a classic in Spiritual Literature. Nothing like it, nothing equal to it, has ever before appeared in English." This is the opinion of a well-known scripture scholar and theologian who has read the proofs.

" A masterpiece for its wealth of sound Catholic doctrine, its profoundly devotional character, and its literary excellence, it is a complete theological treatise, comprising all that Holy Scripture, Christian tradition, and Catholic theology teach us concerning the Mother of God.

" . . . Questions grossly misunderstood by many non-Catholics are treated here with admirable clarity."

M. H. GILL & SON LTD.

50 UPPER O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN

THE TABLET

is now under the direction of A. H. POLLEN, DOUGLAS WOODRUFF, T. F. BURNS, F. W. CHAMBERS, and CHRISTOPHER DAWSON and has begun a new chapter in its long and eventful history. The traditional character of the paper is maintained, but there are a number of new features. Send a post-card to the Manager—

THE TABLET

39 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.4

for a free specimen copy—it will convince you that the oldest and premier Catholic newspaper may now stand as an organ of Catholic opinion to the nation at large; wide in its interests, authoritative and unbiassed.

SISTERS OF ST. LOUIS

LOUISVILLE

MONAGHAN

Mother House and General Novitiate of the Congregation

Boarding School—250 National School—660

St. Martha's Industrial and St. Dympna's Technical School—190

Mother General : REV. MOTHER M. RAPHAEL NUGENT
Local Superior : MOTHER XAVIER OWENS

BURNS OATES & WASHBOURNE

Some Recent Publications

THE ROMAN BREVIARY

Translated into English. An English Version compiled by the Benedictine Nuns of Stanbrook. Revised and edited by Charles F. Brown. Introduction by Rt. Rev. Abbot Cabrol, O.S.B.

Bound in Pluvis, round corners, red gilt edges, each volume, 16/–.
Bound in Morocco, round corners, red under gold edges, each volume, 22/6.
Other bindings specially to order in various colours.

This translation of the *Breviarium Romanum* of the Universal Church, which has been in preparation for many years, is now complete.

Its purpose is to provide for the laity and for convents, in convenient form and at a moderate cost, a reasonably close translation into English of all those parts of the *Breviarium Romanum* which are constantly used in the recitation of the Divine Office.

Based on the one-volume edition commonly known as the *Totum*, which was published by the Vatican Press in 1928, it has been brought up-to-date, incorporating all the recent additions to the Kalendar of the Universal Church up to the time of going to press. An important introduction specially written by Abbot Cabrol, explains the composition and the history of the Breviary, and provides an invaluable guide to those who wish to use it as the most sacred prayer book of the Church.

The four volumes will correspond to the four Seasons of the *Breviarium Romanum*. The Autumn and Winter Parts are now published, and the Spring and Summer Parts will follow early in the new year.

THE OLD LAW AND THE NEW MORALITY

Rev. P. J. Gannon, S.J.

Father Gannon's sermons on the Ten Commandments are an urgent plea for absolute acceptance of the Decalogue in protest against the fashionable denial of its necessity. Cloth, 3/6.

THE MEANING OF THE MASS

Rev. John Kearney, C.S.Sp.

"Of high value and enduring importance . . . . The teaching and liturgy of the Church is classified and arranged to elucidate the fundamental truth so appealingly set forth."—*Irish Standard.*

Cloth, 5/–.

PURGATORY

Dr. Bernhard Bartmann. Translated by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B.

This complete exposition of dogmatic theology concerning Purgatory supplies an important lack among the available textbooks in English. Cloth, 7/6.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF G. K. CHESTERTON

"A fascinating and stimulating book in which a deep philosophy of life is enlivened by a sparkle of Chesterton's wit."—Archbishop Downey. 9 Illustrations. Cloth, 10/6.

THE CROSS AND THE STAR OF DAVID

By Walter Friedemann.

In this powerful and moving book Dr. Friedemann tells the story of his conversion to the Catholic Faith from intense hostility against the Church as a prominent worker for Zionism among the Jews in Germany. Cloth, 7/6.

COMPLETE LISTS FREE UPON APPLICATION.

22 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN, C.5

BROWNE & NOLAN LTD.

NEW AND RECENT WORKS

CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION

By Rev. A. M. Crofts, O.P., B.A., S.T.L. A new work on a subject of immediate concern to-day. The writer is a well-known authority on social questions and the book will be found suitable for Clubs, Study Guilds and Schools. **7/6** net.

THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST IN THE MODERN WORLD

By Rev. Denis Fahey, C.S.Sp., B.A., D.Ph., D.D. With Prefatory Letter from Most Rev. Dr. Kinane, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

The main purpose of this work is to deal, from the theological, philosophical and historical standpoint with the modern revolt against the Divine plan for the organization of human society.

Cloth. Demy 8vo. **8/6** net.

G. K. CHESTERTON—A PORTRAIT

By W. R. Titterton. An intimate and interesting study, the author's tribute to his friend will be read and welcomed by a wide circle.

Cloth. Cr. 8vo. **5/-** net.

ANCIENT IRISH TALES.

Edited by T. P. Cross and C. H. Glover. With two illustrations, a map of Ireland and a genealogical table.

VIII and 609 pages.

This volume presents in convenient form a representative collection of ancient Irish sagas and romances rendered into intelligible modern English. Cloth. Demy 8vo. **10/6** net.

COMPLETE CATALOGUE POST FREE

41 & 42 NASSAU STREET, DUBLIN, C.2

BELFAST :: CORK :: WATERFORD :: LONDON

AND ALL BOOKSELLERS

BOOKS FOR 1936-1937 SCHOOL YEAR

Léigtheóirí Fine Gall

(THE FINGAL READERS)

Approved by the Department of Education

Illustrated, large type, good paper. Brown Covers.

Tír-na-nÓg

For Standard I. Illustrated in Colour. 52 pages. 4d.
A delightful Reader, told in simple idiomatic Irish.

Nóra agus Pádraig

For Standard II. Illustrated. 64 pages. Enlarged Edition. 5d.
Contains lessons in all aspects of a child's life.

Caitheamh Aimsire

For Standard III. Illustrated. 84 pages. Enlarged Edition. 7d.
Lessons on the life and activities of a child of 8 years.

Lá Fé'n Tuaith

For Standard IV. Illustrated throughout. 96 pages. Revised Edition. 9d.
Contains nature lessons, hero and adventure tales.

ALEX. THOM & CO. LTD., Publishers, CROW ST., DUBLIN

THE TALBOT PRESS

NEW BOOKS OF IRISH INTEREST

BIOGRAPHY

MICHAEL O CLEIRIGH

Chief of the Four Masters and his Associates.
By REV. BRENDAN JENNINGS, O.F.M., B.D. (Louvain). Illustrated.
The story of one of the most remarkable movements in literary history—its making and its makers ... ... 7/6 net.

TOM CLARKE AND THE IRISH REPUBLIC

By LOUIS N. LE ROUX, Author of "A Life of Padraic Pearse."
A spirited life of a notable revolutionary, throwing much light on the inner working of the I.R.B. in Ireland ... ... 5/- net.

FOR THE HOME

WHAT SHALL WE HAVE FOR DINNER?

By M. DE R. SWANTON.
A most practical cookery book giving menus for dinner for every day of the year ... ... 2/6 net.

JOYS OF THE GARDEN

By H. KINGSMILL MOORE, D.D.
A book of Garden Lore drawn from many sources ... ... 3/6 net.

POETRY

TEN IRISH LOVE SONGS

By SYDNEY BELL.
With Frontispiece portrait of the author.
2/6 net.

THE SUMMONS

Ireland's Anti-Communist Anthem, and other Poems. By MICHAEL COURTENAY BURKE. With Preface by MAURICE LEAHY ... ... 2/6 net.

TO VICTORY

Selected Poems by MARIE COTTER.
2/6 net.

THE PRACTICAL BEE GUIDE

A manual of modern bee-keeping practice.
By J. G. DIGGES, M.A.
New Edition reset and revised throughout.
Cloth, 6/- net. Paper, 4/6 net.

GENERAL

The ideal book to send to Irish friends this year is :—

THE IRISH BOOK

By RONALD MacDONALD DOUGLAS.
(Author of The Scots Book).
A most attractive miscellany of Facts and Fancies, Folklore and Fragments, Prose and Poetry to do with Ireland and her People. Your bookseller will show you a copy 7/6 net.

THE FOUR GREEN FIELDS

By GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.Litt.
A brilliant and provocative analysis of the problem of Anglo-Irish relations.
3/6 net.

THE FORGED CASEMENT DIARIES

By WILLIAM J. MALONEY, M.D., LL.D.
With seventeen illustrations. An exposure of war-time propaganda tactics. 10/6 net.

FICTION

CANDLE FOR THE PROUD

A powerful tale of 18th Century Ireland, by FRANCIS MacMANUS, Author of "Stand and Give Challenge" ... 5/-

THE KIND COMPANION

A delightful present for young or old. A very moving story of a blind basket-maker and his dog, by DOROTHY M. LARGE. Sixteen illustrations by MILDRED R. LAMB 3/6

THE TREASURE OF THE MOUNTAIN

A NEW BOY'S ADVENTURE STORY.
By REV. MATHIAS BODKIN, S.J., Author of "Floodtide."
The rugged grandeur of the Western Irish Seaboard forms a fitting background for the most exciting tale ... ... 3/6 net.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN IRISH

peig

by peig sayers (An bloscaod mór)
A moving tale of a simple and intensely interesting life. It is an entirely unique book—the first of its kind to be written in Irish by a woman ... ... 6/- net.

COMPLETE CATALOGUES OF BOOKS, PRAYER-BOOKS AND PLAYS ON APPLICATION TO

THE TALBOT PRESS LTD.

89 Talbot Street :: :: Dublin

AND ALL BOOKSELLERS

The Catholic Charities Review

A Monthly Magazine which Discusses the Facts, Problems and Methods of Charity and Related Social Questions.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: FIVE SHILLINGS

Rev. JOHN O'GRADY, Ph.D., LL.D., Editor

Rev. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D., LL.D., Contributing Editor

The Catholic University of America, WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

ENGLISH-IRISH DICTIONARY

A Monumental Work of 1,500 pages

Rev. Fr. L. McKENNA, S.J., M.A., M.Litt. Celt.

Published by the Stationery Office, Dublin

Price 7/6; By post 8/3

Teachers, Schools, Colleges and Pupils alike are recommended to obtain a copy of this invaluable aid to the study of the Irish Language

Orders may be placed through any bookseller or directly with the

Government Publications Sale Office

5 NASSAU STREET, DUBLIN

34/D.3378. W. H. Co.

CHURCH HISTORY

By

Dom Charles Poulet, O.S.B.

Translated by the Rev.
S. A. Raemers, M.A., Ph.D.

Vol. I. The Ancient Church—Middle Ages—Beginning of Modern Period. Royal 8vo, 804 pages. Cloth. 21s. 0d.

Vol. II. The Modern Period—Contemporary Church History. Royal 8vo, 756 pages. Cloth. 21s. 0d.

- "Outstanding merits are its firm marshalling of the most important data and its dispassionate interpretations of them."—*The Tablet.*
- "Any person who reads and studies this work will find it intellectually stimulating and edifying."—*The Ecclesiastical Review.*
- "With deadly skill the author disentangles what is essential from the merely secondary and accidental in this much to be commended work."—*The Catholic Times.*

HERDER, QUEEN SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

The Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart

Published monthly. Price 2d.; by post 3d.
Annual Subscription 3s., post free.

THE MADONNA

Published monthly. Price 1d.; by post 2d.
Annual Subscription 2s. post free.

Annual subscription to MESSENGER and MADONNA when sent together 4s. 6d. post free.

tiṁċiṁe An ċroiḋe naoṁṫa

Published monthly. Price 2d.; by post 3d.
Annual Subscription 3s., post free.

The Illustrated Catalogue for 1936 will be sent gratis and post free on request

OFFICE OF THE IRISH MESSENGER

5 Great Denmark Street, DUBLIN, C.16.

UNIVERSITY HALL, DUBLIN

FOUNDED AND DIRECTED BY THE JESUIT FATHERS

University Hall is maintained exclusively as an academic residence for students who are pursuing university studies in the City of Dublin. The buildings stand close by the site of University College, Dublin. They can accommodate seventy students—an academic community sufficiently large to furnish opportunity for the mutual culture in social intercourse which is among the most important advantages of university life, and an essential factor in university education.

TERMS

There are three Terms in the year: Michaelmas Term, from the beginning of the Session till the Christmas Vacation; Hilary Term, between Christmas and Easter; and Trinity Term, from Easter till the Summer Vacation. The opening and close of Terms coincide with the opening and close of Lectures at University College, Dublin.

FEES

The Residence Fees are Twenty-five Guineas a Term: or, for the Session, £76 if paid in advance.

Parents residing abroad can make special arrangements for Students' vacation expenses.

Applications for admission and inquiries for further information should be addressed to THE PRESIDENT
University Hall, DUBLIN

LORETO HALL

77 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin

Loreto Hall is a recognised House of Residence for Women Students attending the Lectures of University College, Dublin

For Prospectus apply to THE PRINCIPAL

VOL. XXV No. 100

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

DECEMBER 1936

CONTENTS

		PAGE
I. THE BASQUES AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR	*Professor E. Allison Peers, Litt.D.*	529
II. ANARCHISM AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR	*Professor James Hogan, D.Litt.*	545
III. THE COMING CRISIS OF POPULATION ...	*Professor George O'Brien, D.Litt.*	567
IV. PRESENT POSITION OF CATHOLICS IN NORTHERN IRELAND ...	*"Northman"*	581
V. THE UNIVERSITIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES ...	*Rev. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*	597
VI. AN APPROACH TO CHINESE ART ...	*Professor Thomas Bodkin, D.Litt.*	609
VII. SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS—No. 40 ...	*Rev. Lambert McKenna, S.J.*	627
VIII. A GREAT SOUL IN ANGUISH: AMPERE ...	*Rev. P. J. McLaughlin, D.Sc.*	631
IX. GENERAL LUIS DE LACY IN THE SPANISH SERVICE	*Patrick MacBride, D.Litt.*	643
X. A FRESH VIEW OF IRISH POLITICS ...	*Professor Michael Tierney, M.A.*	654
XI. A PRESS CONGRESS AND TWO EXHIBITIONS	*Rev. Stephen J. Brown, S.J.*	659
XII. THE POPULAR FRONT IN SPAIN AND FRANCE ...	*Rev. Francis Joy, S.J.*	665

XIII. REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

The Desert Fathers, 673.—The Monks of Athos, 673.—Les Saints irlandais hors d'Irlande, 675.—The Fire of Love, 677.—Selbst-verleugnung, 677.—Mère Marie de la Passion, 679.—The Wild Irish Girl, 680.—The Goidels and their Predecessors, 681.—The Diary of Humphrey O'Sullivan, 685.—L'Homme devant le Capitalisme, 687.—Problemi fondamentali dello Stato corporativo, 688.—Economia corporativa, 688—Il Messaggio sociale di Gesu, 688.—A History of Ireland, 691.—Histoire des Universités, 693,—Les Universités catholiques, 693.—The Bastille Falls, 695.—Die Diktatur in Oesterreich, 696.—Dollfuss, 696.—Italy in the Making, 698.—English Carmelites in Penal Times, 699.—Psychology of Genius, 699.—Aspects of Wilde, 700.—Metaphysica Generalis, 701.—Nutritional Factors in Disease, 702.

☛ STUDIES is published in the months of March, June, September and December

Single Copies - - 3s. 6d. net (postage 3½d.)
Annual Subscription, post free to all countries, 15s. net

Editorial Offices: 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin
Publishing Offices: The Educational Company of Ireland Ltd. 89 Talbot Street, Dublin

Telephone 51303

Messrs. Earley

:: ARTISTS IN ::
STAINED GLASS
SCULPTURE
CHURCH
DECORATION

STUDIOS

4 UPPER CAMDEN ST.

DUBLIN

THE BASQUES AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

BY E. ALLISON PEERS

Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool

"THERE can be few parts of the world," writes Mr. Rodney Gallop, in his admirable and authoritative *Book of the Basques*, "about which so many wild and inaccurate statements have been made and so much irresponsible and unauthoritative literature has been written, as that region of South-West France and North-West Spain which is inhabited by the Basques. The mystery surrounding the origins and history of the Basque race, the difficulty of their uncouth tongue, and the great reserve which they display in all their contacts with the outside world—a reserve to which is due, in all probability, their survival as a race—have invested them with an air of remoteness and woven around them an atmosphere of romance."

This article will attempt principally to describe and discuss the parts played by the Spanish Basques in the history of the Second Republic and the Civil War. It will be obvious that an adequate explanation of the conduct of so enigmatic a people in a series of peculiarly complicated situations cannot be given in a few pages, the more so since these situations can only be properly appreciated against a background of Basque history. It should be possible, however, to trace the tortuous course of the Basque Statute of Autonomy during the last five years and to throw some light on the reasons which led the Basque Nationalists to side with the enemies of their religion against their fellow-Catholics and fellow-Basques of Navarre.

I

The Basque people are not wholly Spanish: they inhabit three provinces in France (Labourd, Basse-Navarre and Soule) which form part of the *département* of the Basses-Pyrénées, as well as the four in Spain which here chiefly concern us:

Guipúzcoa, Vizcaya, Alava and Navarre. The very names of the capitals of these four provinces—San Sebastián, Bilbao, Vitoria and Pamplona respectively—give an idea of the diversity of the population within a relatively small area. There is one of Spain's largest and most efficient industrial cities; there are summer resorts scattered along the coast and about the Guipúzcoan Highlands, the largest of these (San Sebastián) being the most famous and popular watering-place in the whole of Spain; there are ancient cities famed in history which have now sunk to the level of second-rate provincial capitals or third-rate market towns; and there are innumerable hamlets situated in some of the remotest parts of the Pyrenees, almost as far from civilization as any hamlets in Spain. It is natural that the strength of that national feeling which creates the Basque problem should vary considerably from one province to another. It is most marked in Guipúzcoa, a sea-board province with abundant agricultural wealth, which stretches westward from the French frontier-town of Irún. It persists also in the more westerly province of Vizcaya, noted chiefly for minerals and orchards, though it weakens considerably towards the farthest borders of that province. It is weaker still in the south-westerly province of Alava, where Castilian is more generally spoken than in other parts of the Basque country. Finally, in Navarre, that province of ungainly shape reaching southward to the extreme limits of the region yet stretching also north-eastward to the French Pyrenean frontier, it is at once weak and strong. In the south, it assimilates to Castile; in the north, there are many places in which Castilian is hardly spoken. Navarre has, in general, considerable national consciousness; yet a consciousness also—justified by its unique history—of dissimilarity from the three remaining provinces. Strongly Basque as it is, it will probably always constitute one of the chief problems of an autonomous Basque country.

The independence and stubborn determination of the Basques has for centuries been proverbial. It is significant that, whereas the other provinces of Spain are named after their capital cities, the four Basque provinces retain their

ancient names. These, until recently, were almost the only remaining marks of the considerable privileges which the Basques used to enjoy. Their famous legal rights, or *fueros*, dated from the early Middle Ages, when the Moorish invaders were being expelled from Northern Spain; and these they retained after the union of the Spanish kingdoms, when similar privileges were lost by other parts of Spain under the centralizing rule of the post-Conquest sovereigns. Nearly all the *fueros*, however, were taken, first from Navarre and later from the other three provinces, in the nineteenth century, as a result of the two Carlist Wars in the fourth and eighth decades of that century respectively, when the Basques, and especially the Navarrans, rallied to the standard of the Pretender and, on each occasion for several years, opposed by arms the claims of the ruling descendant of Ferdinand VII, the King who came to the Spanish throne after the defeat of the Napoleonic invasion.

Deprived of privileges which amounted in the sum to local autonomy, and allowed to retain only certain economic rights which came into general notice during the dispute of 1934 over the so-called "Concierto Económico,"[1] the Basques made the recovery of some degree of self-government one of their principal aims. Being a non-assertive people, with a language and a literature known to hardly any but themselves, they received much less publicity than their fellow-strugglers for autonomy, the Catalonians, who had been steadily advancing new claims and steadily gaining new adherents during the greater part of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The substitution of the Second Republic for the Monarchy, in April, 1931, had been due in no small measure to Catalonia's co-operation with the revolutionaries who afterwards formed the provisional Republican Government and this fact received full recognition in the deference which from the beginning the Provisional Government showed to the Catalonians and the relative speed with which their Statute

[1] As limits of space preclude a return to this subject, I may perhaps be allowed to refer the reader to its treatment in my recent book, *The Spanish Tragedy* (London, 1936), pp. 153–4.

of Autonomy was piloted through the Cortes. It was otherwise with the humble Basques. Contrast the *éclat* with which, in Barcelona, on April 14, 1931, Colonel Macià proclaimed to vast crowds " the Catalonian State, which, with all cordiality, we shall endeavour to incorporate in the Federation of Iberian Republics," and the scene, towards the end of the same week, in the little town of Guernica, once the seat of a Basque parliament. Here, on April 17, the Basques attempted to proclaim an autonomous State, presumably within the same federation. But, when their representatives arrived at the historic oak which gives its name to the Basque national anthem, they found that the Government had sent reinforcements of Civil Guards and military to disperse them, that the Mayor of the town had forbidden the proclamation and recommended the inhabitants to stay within doors, and that cars and coaches containing Nationalist supporters from a distance were ordered to " move on " or to return whence they came.[1] The promoters of the attempt bowed to this display of force, but it made them only the more determined to obtain a Statute of Autonomy; and to them the story of the five and a half years from April 1931 to October 1936 is principally the story of how they attained their ambition.

II

The question of regional autonomy in Spain is closely bound up with the question of federalism, which recurs so frequently in discussions on Spanish politics that it cannot be wholly disregarded even in a brief article. The arguments with which Spanish federalists support their proposals are attractive. Here, they say, is a country in which at least five clearly distinguished languages are spoken and in which there are rather more than that number of regional entities. Taking into account the very diverse nature of the needs and the demands of these peoples, what is there to prevent their forming a " United States of Iberia " and achieving a

[1] *La Publicitat*, April 18, 1931.

unity which gives full scope to this diversity? Most of the political arguments which can be, and frequently are, opposed to these contentions are easily answered. The real obstacle to the establishment of such a system is to be found in the character of the Spanish people. They are individualists to the highest degree; they can admit the existence of only two colours, black and white; they would fight to the death for a principle rather than meet their opponents round a table to work out a compromise. It is strange that a federalist solution for the present troubles should have been recently proposed by an eminent Spanish professor[1]; for, if such a solution were psychologically possible, it would have been thought of and worked out long before the War began.

At the same time, it must be admitted that federalists in Spain are very tenacious of their ideas and seem likely to figure largely in, if not indeed often to dominate, the councils of any regions which are granted autonomy. Nor must it be forgotten that federalism in Spain is about as old as republicanism. In 1873, the Constituent Cortes of the First Spanish Republic were federalist in character: the Constitution which they drew up but were unable to enforce divided Spain and the Spanish colonies into seventeen "states," of which, it should be noted, Navarre was one, while the "Basque regions" (*i.e.*, the three remaining provinces) formed another.[2] The attempt to establish such a federation, it may be feared, would end in failure, reaction and a return to complete centralization. A less drastic scheme, in which regions with no desire for autonomy should be allowed central government, might prove more successful. The importance of the federalist ideal in our present discussion, however, consists, not so much in the possibility of its realization in the near future, as in the influence of federalists upon the autonomy campaigns now taking place or lately ended and in the collaboration of Catalonia and the Basque provinces in matters in which each of them is interested.

---

[1] José Castillejo: "Peace in Spain through Federation." (*Manchester Guardian*, October 2, 1936).

[2] The text of this constitution, together with a number of other useful documents, is given by A. Rovira i Virgili in his *Catalunya i la República*, Barcelona, 1931.

The attempt at a dramatic proclamation of the Basque State in April 1931 having been frustrated, the Nationalists set out determinedly to attain autonomy for their country by means which the Constitution of the Second Republic, duly promulgated in December 1931, now made legal. This Constitution provided that, though federation of autonomous regions could not be allowed, any group of provinces might apply for the recognition of a Statute of Autonomy which had been approved, first, by a majority of its town councils and, next, by at least two thirds of the total number of electors in the provinces. As early as June 1931, the draft of such a Statute had been drawn up by the Society of Basque Studies and published, with a view to general discussion, at San Sebastián. It included within the autonomous region the four Basque provinces and any other regions of whose inhabitants not less than eighty per cent. might solicit inclusion. It made Basque the official language of the new State, while recognizing Castilian for certain purposes and providing for schools in which Castilian should be the medium of instruction. It conceded a generous proportion of legislative and executive functions to the Central Government, including the control of religious confessions and congregations, national defence, foreign affairs and inland revenue. To the new State were to pertain principally the administration of justice, the maintenance of public security and the control of education.

The first town councils to debate this draft, those of Guipúzcoa, suggested a number of important amendments, the chief of which was that the Basque State should have the right to regulate its own relations with the Church. In this matter the town councils of the other provinces followed suit, a fact which cannot too carefully be noted. This was the period in which the Republican Government, after having failed entirely to cope with the anticlerical rioters of May 1931, was using its large Left majority, gained in the July elections, to persecute the Church and, in particular, the religious Orders. The Basques are among the most devout of all the peoples even of the "most Catholic country in

Europe," and, at this stage, there was no conflict between the Right and the Left of the Basque Nationalist party. Both sides had suffered through the suppression and suspension of newspapers by the Government, which had affected the Basque country more than any other region. Both sides had vehemently opposed the anticlerical articles of the Constitution, as a result of which the Basque deputies had withdrawn from the Cortes. But soon, under the influence of the extremists, both in the Basque provinces and in Madrid, opposition to the idea of a separate religious concordat began to grow. M. Gaëtan Bernoville, in an interesting and well-informed article on this subject in *Etudes*,[1] quotes from several personal interviews which he had at this time with leading Basque politicians and which correspond exactly with the impressions that I myself gathered in Madrid. Even while the Constitution of the Second Republic was being passed in a House in which the Basque deputies abstained from voting, the Government was taking benevolent cognisance of the draft Statute and encouraging its promoters to proceed with it and to present it in the Cortes.[2] Such benevolence, it might be thought, showed a highly forgiving spirit, and in fact the Government could afford to be forgiving, since the question of the Concordat, having been raised, could not fail to drive a wedge between the Left and the Right of Basque nationalism—in which event there was little doubt (given the then existing state of parties in the Cortes) that the Left would prevail.

The irrevocable cleavage between the Navarrans and their fellow-Basques came in June 1932, over four years before its results made themselves so tragically felt in the Civil War. The draft Statute, after a long period of discussion, was laid before the representatives of the town councils of the four provinces and was duly approved by them. Of the Navarran councils, however, only 123 voted for the Statute, while 109 voted against it, 35 abstaining: less than half having voted in its favour, Navarre was *ipso facto* excluded from it. The other majorities were enormous. For Guipúzcoa, the figures

[1] Paris, October 5, 1936, pp. 75–89.
[2] Decree of December 8, 1931, published in the Press of the following day.

were 84 to 2 in favour, with 3 abstentions; for Alava, 52 to 11 in favour, with 14 abstentions; and for Vizcaya, 109 to 1 in favour, with 6 abstentions.

The secession of Navarre, though by no means unexpected, was a great blow to those autonomists who had striven, in season and out of season, to foster the idea of Basque-Navarran unity, attempting to bring Navarre to see herself as the most venerable and picturesque of the four sister regions whose union under an autonomous *régime* was necessary to that *régime's* success. "We are all the children of the great Basque nation," ran a manifesto drawn up by a group of mayors in 1931, "in which Navarre is the senior partner. We have been brought to realize once again the historic errors committed by our people. Basques and Navarrans, we have lived apart from each other, if not actually in conflict with each other . . . This suicidal separation must once and for all be brought to an end. Like Catalonia, the Basque provinces must be united in their claims, or our disunity will lead Madrid to take advantage of our differences and make us mere provinces of a central organization. Madrid stands for centralization, and centralization, unfortunately, has not ended with the advent of the new *régime*." [1]

Men who felt thus would not easily be consoled for the defection of the Navarrans, which to Madrid meant—if not all they had said—at least the drawing of closer bonds between the projected Basque Statute and the socialistic anti-clerical Constitution of 1931. The tragedy of the cleavage lay in fears not so much of an excessively centralized form of government as of the widening of the gulf between Left and Right among the Basques themselves. Among the Navarrans, and among the Conservatives of the three other provinces, Carlism, which had flagged on the death of Don Jaime, the Carlist pretender, in 1931, and the succession to the claimancy of Don Alfonso Carlos, a man of 82, took on a new life, either in its original form or in the modified form of monarchism of a more general kind. Among the supporters of the Basque Centre and Left a *rapprochement* began with the Left Govern-

[1] *Cit.* M. Trilla: "L'actitud de Navarra." In *La Publicitat*, June 17, 1931.

ment in Madrid, which in June 1932 seemed likely to remain in power for some years and to succeed in passing through the Cortes a Basque Statute of Autonomy in all its stages.

The member of the Government who acted as *liaison* officer in this *rapprochement* was the Socialist Finance Minister, Don Indalecio Prieto. Needless to say, Sr. Prieto has the closest connections with the Basque country—otherwise he would have had little chance of success. Both his career as a journalist and his fortune as a politician are associated with Bilbao. He is a convert, and a comparatively recent one, to autonomy rule—again an attractive *rôle* in which to appear before autonomists. He is an able parliamentarian and a skilful debater. In this quality, he wrote a letter, in September 1932, to the President of the Diputación de Vizcaya which to-day reads almost like a manifesto. It was, in fact, more than a manifesto : it was a plan of action skilfully set before a suggestible group of people at a moment when their hopes were high and their emotions easily worked upon—the moment when the Catalonian Statute of Autonomy had just been promulgated.

The letter is too long to analyze in full,[1] but some indication of its main arguments is essential. Some of the autonomists, it seemed, were still toying with the idea of a revised draft of the Statute which would be favourably received by the Navarrans. This question, writes Sr. Prieto, must be dealt with at once. Now that the Catalonian Statute has passed the Cortes, a Basque Statute, if duly presented, cannot fail to do the same. But if it were delayed too long, an anti-autonomist Government might be in power in Madrid and then it would be another story. These Navarrans, urges Sr. Prieto, who seem to have no idea of what they really want, must be brought to the point or got rid of once and for all. Perhaps, after all, "if they cannot support the Statute spontaneously and enthusiastically," it would be better to get rid of them . . .

There is another matter, continues Sr. Prieto, stepping more delicately. The Right group of the Basque Nationalists

[1] It is dated September 21, 1932, and published in *El Sol* of September 23.

must not object to a little plain speaking. In 1930, they refused their co-operation to the Republicans during the last stages of the fight against the Monarchy. Now that the Monarchy is dead, they are allying themselves (as they did, for example, in the elections of July 1931) with the most implacable enemies of the Republic. The Government really cannot allow this if it is to support their desire for autonomy. And there is worse to come. They have been nursing "Vaticanist aspirations" which are "wholly at variance with the nature of a lay State like the Republic." "Their clericalism is so impassioned that they forget how few votes they have in the Cortes and how it is our votes, not theirs, that will win them the Statute."

It is needless to follow the letter to its end: in its later stages it becomes almost a diatribe against the unfortunate traditionalists and an exposition of the "misgivings they have awakened by their frankly reactionary attitude." It did its work. The Navarrans, pressed to come in at once or to stay out, stayed out. The bulk of the Basque autonomists, flattered and pleased that so doughty a champion had been won over to fight for them, moved more closely to the Left, and the Basque provinces were henceforth divided into two opposing camps, in which the Left held a marked predominance.

III

On November 5, 1933, the plebiscite laid down by the Constitution of the Republic was held in the three provinces. With Navarre excluded, the councils of Guipúzcoa, Vizcaya and Alava had approved the Statute in a revised form by large majorities, and a short campaign in the country secured hardly less striking majorities from the people. In Guipúzcoa, over 87 per cent. of the electors voted in its favour; in Vizcaya, about 89 per cent.; and in Alava, almost exactly 50 per cent. The most remarkable figures were recorded in San Sebastián, where 94 per cent. of the votes cast were favourable.

It looked now as though the Statute would go straight through the Cortes; but, unfortunately for its supporters, the change of Government which Sr. Prieto had forecast

now took place. Ever since the partial municipal elections held in the spring of 1933, the Government's popularity had been declining; and, after much obstructionism in the Cortes and a series of ineffective Governments, the President of the Republic dissolved the Constituent Cortes in mid-October. A fortnight after the Basque plebiscite had been held, general elections brought back a parliament in which the strongest group was the Right and in which the Right and the Centre combined had almost four times as many seats as the Left.

This meant inaction, in more fields than that of regional autonomy; and, for the whole of the twenty-seven months during which the Centre and Centre-Right groups held power, there was little real progress. The Statute duly went to the Cortes, but parliamentary delays, together with the representations of the Alavan minority, held it in Committee until the following February. At the end of that month a long and inconclusive debate, in which the opponents of regional autonomy, now so numerous, made full use of the Alavan figures, provoked a Government crisis of some importance. In the months which followed, there were frequent incidents concerned with the Statute—such as the publication by Don Rafael Picavea, in the *Voz de Guipúzcoa*, of an outspoken article threatening separation—but the main question was carried no farther. Had the plebiscite resulted, as the Catalonian plebiscite did in 1931, in virtual unanimity, things might have been different; but the argument that Alava was slowly going the way of Navarre was a plausible one, and, in a period when progress of any sort was slow, it sufficed to arrest the passage of the Statute completely.

IV

The Centre-Right Government having collapsed of inanition, there came the well-known events of the present year: the elections of February, which returned the Left coalition known as the Popular Front, with a useful majority; the displays of violence which followed the declaration of the results; the deposition of President Alcalá Zamora and the succession to the Presidency of Sr. Azaña; the weeks of

continual strikes, sabotage, arson and assassination which culminated in the murder of Sr. Calvo Sotelo; and finally the military revolt which led to the Civil War. It became fairly clear, once hostilities had started, on which side each party would enlist. There was no longer room for a Centre group, and such members of the Centre group parties as escaped assassination by Left extremists and remained in Spain would, it appeared, gravitate to the Right. The parties comprising the Popular Front would in all probability remain more or less closely united till the end of the war; and, while true Liberals could hardly remain attached to a political coalition which had flouted the principles of democracy, they would probably find it prudent—at any rate if they remained in Madrid or Barcelona—to register conformity with the Government, particularly as the insurgents would be unlikely to establish a State of which they could approve.

What of the Regionalists? In Catalonia the answer to that question was simple. The Esquerra, or Republican Left, had been by far the strongest group, almost without intermission, since their electoral triumph of April 1931. And in February 1936 their prestige had increased tremendously with the reinstatement in office of President Companys and his colleagues of the Generalitat, who had been in prison since the frustration of their rebellion in October 1934.

The probable action of the Basque Nationalists was forecast with less confidence by those who had not followed the fortunes of the Basque Statute of Autonomy. Since the Navarrans, whether Carlists or no, were almost solidly behind the insurgents, it was argued that the three Basque provinces would preserve the solidarity of the race by turning rebel also. More plausibly (for there seems no reason why the autonomists should have cast in their lot with those who had seceded from their cause) it was argued that the three Basque provinces would not—*could not*, indeed—fight by the side of the burners and pillagers of churches, seminaries and convents against those who aimed at the rebuilding of the traditional Spain to which in the main they themselves adhered. But those who thought thus had not taken into account the history of the

past five years. The Basque Statute was lying on the table, as it were, in the Cortes, awaiting approval. As the price of Basque support in the War, immediate approval could now be wrung from the Popular Front. The religious clauses had been shelved by agreement, at the suggestion—or something more—of Don Indalecio Prieto; but they could always be re-inserted at a later date, when the Basque State was securely on its feet. To join forces with the Popular Front would mean lying down for a time with some strange bedfellows, but the end would justify the means. That was apparently the way in which the Basque Nationalists themselves argued, for they plunged at once into the struggle on the Government side and provided the Government with a badly needed rejoinder to those who claimed that the struggle was one of Christianity against paganism. Incidentally, they were remarkably successful as a moderating influence throughout the campaign in their own territory: to their representations is credited the lack of damage done in San Sebastián, and hardly any reports of the burning of churches by Government supporters have been received from the Basque country.

It has frequently been said that the insurgents would have done well to offer autonomy to the Basques in return for their co-operation or that the Basques should at least have approached them in that sense before supporting their enemies. Unfortunately the treatment of Catalonia by the last military dictator, Primo de Rivera, was too fresh in the minds of autonomists to make such an approach from their side feasible, while, as for the insurgents, one would hardly expect them to have offered the very contrary of what was, even in the first week of the war, their declared policy. Whatever General Franco's New Spain is or is not to be, there seems little doubt of its being rigidly unitary. No sort of regional autonomy is likely to be tolerated. "Spain will be organized," reads the Chief of State's programme-speech of October 1, "on broad totalitarian lines, by means of those national institutions which assure its totality, unity and continuity." The sole hint which he gives of an awareness

of regional distinctions of character or culture is an assurance that the "peculiarities of the regions" will be respected, according to the "old national tradition," without loss of national unity. The most generous interpretation that one could put upon this sentence would be the restoration of certain minor *fueros*—far less, certainly, than the Basques could ever accept as satisfactory. And if it be remembered that these are the words of one who has not yet conquered, it would seem premature to interpret them generously at all. The Basques know, as the Catalonians know, how little they can expect to gain from any military dictatorship; for which reason it seems likely that the Basques, and later the Catalonians, if such a course becomes necessary, will die in the last ditch before they surrender the degree of autonomy which they have won.

V

For to the Basques, at long last, autonomy came. The Left kept its word, and when on October 1, for the first time since mid-July, the Cortes met, according to constitutional rule, adjourning thereafter until December, they did not adjourn until they had passed the Basque Statute of Autonomy, by means of one simple motion, in all its stages.

It has not yet been revealed precisely what negotiations took place before the Basque Nationalists consented to fight with the Popular Front: how they obtained the assurance that those parties in the coalition which were opposed to regional autonomy would be overborne; and how it was arranged that there should be no opposition. We can no doubt hazard guesses as to all these things—not least easily, it is to be feared, as to the last. In any case, when, late in September, the Basque Nationalist leader, Sr. Aguirre, left the Government and a new party nominee, Sr. Irujo, took his seat in the Cabinet as Minister without portfolio, this was understood to indicate that the retiring Minister was to become the first President of the new Basque State.

To those few deputies who were present at the re-assembly of the Cortes in October and who had also followed the long and violent debates of four years earlier on the Catalonian

Statute, the contrast between these and the short, smooth passage of the Basque Statute must have been amazing. Each of the fourteen articles was read by a secretary and passed without discussion. And so in a quarter of an hour the Statute became law!

Substantially the new Statute is identical with that approved by the town councils of Guipúzcoa, Vizcaya and Alava on August 6, 1933, and by the plebiscite of November 5 of the same year. The three provinces are to be known as the País Vasco; Basque and Castilian are both to be official languages of the State (or, more exactly, of the "autonomous region"), Castilian being used for all relations with the Central Government and both languages for official notices. Among the functions of the País Vasco is to be complete freedom as to electoral legislation and local government, policing and public safety, interior communications, libraries and museums, hygiene and public health. It is to be free to create and maintain educational institutions of every kind and grade (including universities) though the Central Government may also maintain existing institutions and create others, and, for the present, the State University degree will be demanded as heretofore.

These are only a few of the provisions of the Statute, but they will give some idea of the extent of the autonomy that has been attained.[1] Temporary articles are added to the text, to remain in force only during the War. There is no reference, in either the permanent or the temporary articles, to the religious question.

A week after the Statute had become law, such parts of the Basque country as were still in Government hands celebrated the great event at Guernica and elected Don José Antonio de Aguirre as the first President of their Provisional Government. Under the traditional oak-tree the President took the oath of loyalty, read the list of his first Government, set out that Government's policy, and declared that its first

[1] Owing to the length of the text of the Statute and the economies that are being made in paper during the War, most newspapers in Madrid and Barcelona content themselves with giving a brief summary. The full text, however, will be found in the *Vanguardia* for October 2 and 3, 1936, in two instalments.

concern should be to do its part towards bringing Spain victory and peace.

There for the moment we must leave the new Basque Government, bracing itself to meet an onslaught which may well end in its annihilation but strengthened by the knowledge that it has now something to fight for, which it could not otherwise have gained. What it will accomplish and what policy it will pursue, if it remains in being, time may show. In a recent statement which one would suppose to have been inspired by the Basque Nationalist leaders, Sr. Irujo described the threefold aim of the then still unlegalized State as the humanization of the War (in which, with the freeing of hostages and the exchange of non-combatant prisoners, it has attempted to lead the way), the establishment of a Federal Republic, and the creation of a " new politico-social order."[1] The last two ideals merit a concluding word.

It is of real interest to find federalism coming up again immediately a new region has been granted autonomy. " The transformation of the unitary Republic into a federal one," said Sr. Irujo, " I consider to be an immediate and imperious necessity for the security and normal development of the *régime*." In a federal constitution, " which at once draws a distinction and creates a bond between the peoples," not only the internal problems of Spain will find their solution, " but perhaps also those of the whole Peninsula and of Morocco and possibly those of Europe." This is a stupendous claim : it would be interesting to hear it defended.

As to the new political and social order which the Basque Nationalists envisage, we are told that they consider it " a religious question emanating from the principles of universal fraternity, social justice and the equality of mankind which are incarnated in the Catholicism that we fervently proclaim and practise." That and no more. On so meagre a statement we cannot adequately pronounce judgment : it is by its interpretation and application that it must stand or fall.

E. Allison Peers

[1] *El Sol*, September 27, 1936.

ANARCHISM AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

BY JAMES HOGAN

Professor of History, University College, Cork

MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO, who supported with his great literary prestige the establishment of the Spanish Republic in 1931, has recently given as one of his chief reasons for supporting the insurgents the powerful menace of the anarchist movement in Spain, a terrible movement born of the old quarrel between Bakunin and Marx. We have been so accustomed to regard anarchism as a sort of malignant growth on the body of despotism that we have tended to lose sight of the fact that anarchism has behind it an elaborate theory and a long and chequered history. Its appearance as a major factor in the Spanish struggle is not simply a revolutionary anachronism, a fossil somehow preserved beyond the Pyrenees when the species to which it belonged has become extinct everywhere else. It is rather an example of the persistence with which deep-seated historical tendencies keep cropping up in the great crises of history.

The ordinary idea of anarchism as the negation of authority fails to convey its full significance. Like every error that has had a wide appeal it has deep roots in the human spirit. The strong and vivid contradiction between the immortal elements that man feels in his being and the narrow and limited world by which he is bound and which seems to be forever threatening his annihilation, is a reality of which all men are aware in greater or less degree. The more intense man's awareness of his greatness and misery, the nearer he is to becoming either saint, poet or anarchist. In one or other of these ways men have ever reacted to the deepest and most universal reality within their experience, the sense that the world in which we live is a fallen world; that we are exiles, and that from exile we hope to return to the happiness, unshadowed by decay or death or misery, for which we

were created. Our ultimate attitude depends on whether it is to take place here on earth in a human paradise, or whether it is to be realised in a life beyond the grave.

Behind anarchism may be the same sense of man's exile and the same longing for freedom which inspires the poet, but the freedom it seeks is objectless and turns inward and destroys itself. It is based upon the law of retaliation and the hatred of the past, of all tradition and all history. It is therefore by nature sterile and joyless, and its prophets have been almost without exception tortured personalities. Ultimately, too, the majority of anarchist doctrines topple over into various forms of collectivism or communism. The programmes of Bakunin and Kropotkin are examples. Refusing another life in which the torments, conflicts and contradictions of this will be resolved, and moved by a burning conviction of the imperfections of the only world he knows and believes in, the anarchist has no choice but to revolt against existence itself; his passion for absolute liberty becomes a mania and vents itself in theories of man in isolation, man "his own government, his own law, his own church, a system within himself"; or else he dreams of men combining in social harmonies, of a social existence which runs as smoothly as a ballet.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton has said that the world is full of christian truths run wild, and it is indeed remarkable that the anarchist doctrine should offer a paraphrase, even though it be a perverse and naturalistic one, of the christian doctrine of the fall of man. According to the mythology of anarchism evil entered into the world when man yielded to the temptation to exercise authority over his fellowmen. Authority is the serpent which has contaminated human existence at its source. From these premises follow the revolutionary conclusion that it is essential to destroy authority with all its works and pomps, and that once man is freed from external restraint he will by a series of regenerations attain his inherent goodness and innocence—something like the Garden of Eden. It will have been noted that, in the anarchist theory, human misery is not attributed to any inherent defect of human nature

it is not a defect of intelligence and still less of any original sin of which we bear the guilt at our birth and still retain the effects. Authority is the sole culprit; human misery is wholly and entirely due to the artificial environment in which man has imprisoned himself as a result of the exercise of authority. Nothing could be plainer than that such a doctrine is not merely a revolt against historical institutions, but is in its essence a radical expression of atheism and naturalism. It presupposes (1) absolute personal freedom as the highest good; (2) the intrinsic goodness of human nature and of all natural impulses; (3) the self-sufficiency of man and his independence of any higher principle, whether supernatural or otherwise.

If Bakunin is the father of modern anarchism, Rousseau may claim to be its godfather. Rousseau brought the Pelagian heresy up to date. For him, as for St. Augustine's adversary, man is born good and can never sin so long as he follows his natural impulses. Just as Pelagius dispensed with divine assistance, so Rousseau held that the natural man should be able to dispense with institutions based on compulsion. His doctrine of natural goodness, with his idealization of the state of nature and the free play of instinct and impulse, proved to be one main cause of the revolutionary optimism which has generated such frightful destructions from that day to this. The other chief factor was of course the doctrine of progress, though it was not present to Rousseau in its modern form.

It is of course arguable that the *Contrat Social* cuts straight across Rousseau's philosophy of individualism; that the *Contrat Social* is pure collectivism. It may be so, but Rousseau himself thought otherwise. He was satisfied that he had found "a form of association by which each, being united with all, should yet obey only himself and still be as free as before." The solution was a fraudulent mystification, but the important point is that as far as Rousseau was concerned the contradiction between individualism and collectivism was overcome. For him the essential thing was to save the freedom of the individual; and so, in his eyes, organised society was always a second best and his philosophy, hostile

to the idea of the State, remained anti-social and anarchical in its influence. It was his sentimentality, *not* his logic, that transformed individualism into a religion and thus started the movement of ideas along the downward slope to anarchism. His creed was so beautifully clear and simple once his assumptions were accepted. Men were naturally good; it was only institutions that made them bad. The remedy seemed to be simple. Remove the existing order—feudal absolutism in Rousseau's day, capitalism in our day—and you will find an ideal system ready-made underneath. The crux was how to do all this without recourse to violence. Governments do not give up the ghost without a struggle. It was at this point that anarchism violated its first principle and decided to use force to end force; and just like the communist who asserts that the State is only a means to the abolition of the State, the anarchists continue to regard force as a means to end force. On the horns of this dilemna anarchism is impaled and continues to wriggle in vain. The school of Kropotkin and Tolstoy has adopted the only logical and consistent course, that is to say, pacifism; but the central anarchist tradition has not only refused pacifism, but, as the world knows, has gone to the opposite extreme and become a byword for terrorism.

The dogmas of human perfectability, individualism and progress, reinforced by the illusion that beneath existing institutions lies a better world ready-made and only waiting to be revealed—this was Rousseau's fatal legacy to the nineteenth century, and to this tradition rather than to that of Hegel and Marx belongs the philosophy of modern anarchism.

While the theory of anarchism gave rise to two schools of thought—one individualistic and pacifist, the other communistic and terrorist—they continued to influence one another. Broadly speaking, the former remained a philosophical and literary movement. Its influence was limited in so far as it refused to sanction the use of force. This passive or negative type of anarchism culminated, towards the end of the century, in Tolstoy's doctrine of non-resistance to evil—which, as events have shown, lends itself in the end to connivance with

evil. In retrospect, it is clear that anarchism, which might equally well be described as the principle of absolute individualism, was the magnetic pole of the nineteenth century.

To catalogue and differentiate all the varieties of nineteenth century anarchism, one would have to visit every hole and corner of the century. But one variety which dwarfs all others, and which indeed came to dominate the whole western world, is the free capitalism of the Manchester school. Doctrines as far apart as economic individualism, Stirner's egotheism, and Nietzsche's superindividualism, although opposed in many respects, are all fruits of the anarchist philosophy. All presuppose man's ability to transform himself and his world by his own unaided efforts. By the second half of the nineteenth century we reach the point at which anarchism, once the religion of individualism, begins to pass over into anti-individualism. And by the end of the century the whole development of naturalistic humanism has culminated in antihumanism.

If what presumes to be a doctrine of absolute freedom works out as the most terrible of tyrannies, it is because it enlists force to attain the unattainable. At first sight, the pacifist and terrorist schools of anarchism seem to lie worlds apart; there seems nothing in common between Tolstoy's doctrine of non-resistance and the vandalism of Bakunin and his dynamitards. What affinity, it may be asked, can there be between the pacifists who repudiate the use of force and the anarchists of Irun and Barcelona whose slogan is *viva dynamita?* The affinity is a good deal closer than it ought to be; for, as Professor Hearnshaw has aptly pointed out, the force which the disciples of Tolstoy and Kropotkin object to is force applied by others to themselves. They are by no means so strongly opposed to force applied by themselves to others, and their passive resistance soon transmutes itself into active resistance; their active resistance into defensive aggression; and their defensive aggression into the open assault of the storm troops of Bakunin. It is no mere coincidence that some of the worst war-mongers in England to-day should have been the pacifist and conscientious objectors of

yesterday and that nowhere has the propaganda of the Third International met with a greater success than in the so-called organisations in defence of peace and against Fascism.

Were it not for the virus of Russian Nihilism, anarchism might have continued on its way largely as an utopian and philosophical movement. Michael Bakunin was chiefly responsible for combining the two, and thus creating the modern movement of terroristic anarchism. An aristocrat and an intellectual, Bakunin was in many ways a typical representative of the romantic pseudo-revolutionist and conspirator whom the Russian despotism was breeding in shoals towards the middle of the nineteenth century. The more startling and far-fetched a movement or theory, the more likely it was to appeal to men keenly conscious of their helplessness in face of the Czarist autocracy. Besides being a born conspirator, Bakunin was a born poseur and this must be taken into account in any estimate of the programme which he expounded. But if he did not mean every word of his to be taken literally, some of his associates did; and the last twenty years have seen the terrible effects of what a contemporary, like Turgenev, judged to be a crude parody of Byron's Cain.

The great Russian novelist saw the type emerging and did not like it. These Nihilists were harmless enough at first, like noisy children intent upon the exhilarating job of house-wrecking. "What can be smashed," wrote one of them, "must be smashed. Whatever stands the blow, is good. What flies into smithereens is rubbish. At any rate, hit out, right and left; there will be and can be no harm from it." The vandalism cultivated by Russian revolutionists existed at first in combination with slavophil and materialistic tendencies which were in the course of time to give rise to the opposing Anarchist—Slavophil and Marxian parties. In his novels, *On the Eve*, *Fathers and Children*, and *Rudin*, Turgenev has embodied the conflict of ideas of these days, and was acquainted with their chief spokesmen, Bakunin, Herzen, Pisarev, and Ogarev. He was impressed by their enthusiasm, but disliked their ideas as strongly as he was capable of disliking anything, particularly Bakunin's outcry

against the rottenness of the educated classes, the emptiness of European civilization, and the very idea of civilization itself. Bakunin and he had been friends in youth, but in later years he saw in him " nothing but a played-out agitator, a flighty, irresponsible demagogue, a Rudin not lucky enough to have met death on a barricade."

What exasperated Turgenev most of all was the way in which these restless revolutionists were obsessed with the idea of Russia's unique and Messianic destiny. They might abuse the middle classes, but the middle class which would emerge from the Russian revolution would be more philistine, more bureaucratic, more mean-spirited than the old easy-going middle class. So Turgenev predicted, and with even more remarkable foresight predicted that, given freedom, so far from becoming a land of freemen, Russia would become a land of tyrants and dogmatists, the seat of a new Imperialism, narrow-minded, cruel, and repulsive, which would beat the old Imperialism hollow at its own game. Or perhaps there was worse to follow. Perhaps the ultimate destiny of the human race was to achieve the caste organisation achieved by the ants and bees.

Bakunin was one of the revolutionary wing of young Hegelians which congregated in Berlin in the forties and to which Marx belonged. German philosophy, above all that of Hegel, has proved to be the root of great evil. But in so far as Hegelianism positively influenced Bakunin, its influence was towards atheism. Feuerbach, the leader of the Left Hegelians, had produced in his work, *The Essence of Christianity*, a secular religion of humanity reminiscent of that of Auguste Comte which Marx and Bakunin hailed as a knock-out blow for all systems of supernatural religions. Religion meant for the former simply an aspect of economics. It was an intensely personal matter with Bakunin. He had been looking for an avenue of escape from the problem of God which had haunted him in his youth, and now Feuerbach had shown him the way out. Writing at this time of his transition to the new religion of man and revolution he states : " I sought God in man, in his freedom, and now I seek God

in revolution." From this time on he was to be the apostle of destruction for destruction's sake, of revolution as a religion and an art; and how far he had travelled may be judged from his maxim : " The lust for destruction is a creative lust." About this time too he talks about the " inner Satan " in man ; the impossibility of revolution without the aid of that first and greatest of all revolutionaries hidden in every human being ; he speaks of the necessity of awakening bestial appetites and wrenching the existing world from its hinges by a supreme diabolical effort. What would come after this orgy of universal nihilism was a secondary consideration. Had not chaos given birth to the stars ?

Under the influence of Rousseau, Fourier, the Left Hegelians, and the 1848 revolution, Bakunin developed into a militant anarchist and atheist. The central idea of his book, *God and the State*, is that the destruction of authority requires the destruction of the idea of God as the source of all authority. From this develops his militant atheism ; " the Church and the State, these two are my *bêtes noires*." Voltaire had said : " If there were no God, it would be necessary to invent Him." Bakunin condemns this epigram, which he inverts : " If there is a God, He should be destroyed." The difference between the agnosticism of the eighteenth century and the militant atheism of the nineteenth comes out very clearly when we compare these two sayings. The former regards God as a negation ; and while considering that this particular negation called God may, like the minus sign in mathematics, have its uses, it refuses to get excited over what is after all non-existent. But Bakunin, on the other hand, writes and acts as if God was a reality. That this was the case is shown by his favourite proof of God's non-existence : " If God exists, then man is a slave. But man can and must be free ; then God does not exist. There is no escape from this dilemma ; hence it is necessary to choose." In the proposition (which he repeats time and again) that denial of God was not enough, that it was necessary to destroy Him, Bakunin betrays his revolt against God to be a real revolt against a God really existing. It is not possible to revolt

against a negation, and only in these terms is it possible to account for the hatred of God with which Bakunin became obsessed almost to the point of madness, and which at the present day is the core and essence of communism and anarchism. His arguments have ever since been incorporated in the revolutionary anti-religious tradition; and though the social and economic ideas of Marx were to triumph over those of Bakunin, the latter's satanic hatred of religion is perhaps the most living thing in Russia's inheritance from the nineteenth century, and by communists the world over he is regarded as the major prophet of militant atheism.

The quarrel between Bakunin and Marx, which was to wreck the First International, originated in personal antipathies as well as in differences of principle. Their ultimate ideal might be the same—a classless and stateless society of free producers. But true to his principles, Bakunin point-blank refused the State and the political struggle which Marx insisted were essential means to the ends they had in common. It is strange that Bakunin, who had the vision to perceive that the ends obtained are determined by the means used and who, on that account, rejected the State which has not proved to be the temporary and passing thing Marx claimed it ought and would be, should nevertheless have made exactly the same mistake by advocating the employment of force as the sole means to end all force whatsoever.

Many years were to pass before their differences came to a head; and in the meantime Bakunin came in turn under the influence of the ideas of Proudhon and under the direct influence of the eccentric German terrorist, Wilhelm Weitling. As an utopian socialist who denied the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism, Weitling had already a good deal in common with Bakunin. Schemes of destruction filled both their heads to the exclusion of any serious consideration of the nature of the society which would follow the disappearance of state-organised society. It was easy to assume, as they assumed, that with the disappearance of the State a system of anarchist communism would automatically appear. But how was it going to work?

Bakunin, at a loss for constructive ideas, answered this question by borrowing largely from Proudhon's mutualism, which by the way originated with the Cork economist, William Thompson. According to mutualism the chief relations between citizens would be based on free agreement and regulated by a system of account keeping; quarrels would be settled by arbitration. Proudhon was neither in favour of class violence nor in favour of collectivism; but Bakunin transferred his mutualist ideas from their natural setting and used them to support a system of anarchist collectivism.

Where Bakunin came nearest to Proudhon was in his repudiation of all governmental and bureaucratic action; in his denial that legislation, even when issuing from universal suffrage, could have any validity; and in his claim for full autonomy for each nation, each district and each commune, as well as in the general assumption that in such a system the individual would at last attain full freedom. At first sight it is puzzling how Bakunin, who relied upon the "inner Satan" to accomplish the revolution, should assume that this gentleman would become altogether domesticated once the revolution was over. The explanation would seem to be that Bakunin, like Rousseau and Marx, regarded evil as a social *not* a personal product, so that the reign of freedom meant the death of the old Adam and the advent of a new type of humanity. The fact that the spark of truth in Proudhon's reaction against statism lends some glimmer of sanity even to the half demented philosophy of Bakunin is proof that the former was sometimes on the right track. The really fantastic thing common to both is the assumption that, in an economically free and just society, the will to domination or the inclination to evil will be unknown. While there may be some slight ground for optimism of this sort in regard to the society envisaged by Proudhon where at least the individual is to be permitted to own property and to exercise a personal initiative, it is little short of madness to expect anything of the sort to happen in a system of anarchist collectivism, and Bakunin's doctrine of the freedom of each as possible only in terms of the freedom of all is just such

another mystification as Rousseau's theory of *The General Will.*

Marx, who had a soft corner in his heart for Bakunin and Weitling so long as they confined themselves to the rôle of avenging angels, was not at all shocked by their advocacy of frankly criminal methods. In fact he was as sure as they were that the existing order, however rotten, would not collapse of its own accord; and he was therefore in whole-hearted agreement that, since the diseases from which society was suffering would have to come to a crisis before they could be cured, it would be a good thing to aggravate them and, indeed, by every possible method to bring them to the last extreme. The worse, the better! All this appears in Marx's work under the dignified name of the doctrine of increasing misery, and as a matter of fact it remains to the present day a part of the communist programme to use the criminal elements in society to ensure that the communist bid for power, once the revolution is in full swing, may acquire its maximum momentum.

The struggle of principle between Marx and Bakunin recalls in some respects the struggle between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks at the beginning of the present century. Marx, like Lenin, stood for rigid authority and strict discipline within the Party and for absolute adherence to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Bakunin, the Trotsky of the revolutionary scene in those days, was a romantic revolutionary and a feckless theorist in Marx's eyes. The Jew and drill-sergeant in Marx could never take kindly to the theory of anarchism, which in one of his early works, *German Ideology*, he attacked bitterly in the person of its leading German representative, Max Stirner. It was not the terrorist side of the anarchist programme that repelled and infuriated Marx. As we have seen, he borrowed freely in this respect. It was the rank heresy of the view that the proletariat was not a separate class with an exclusive and Messianic destiny; that the revolution must refuse the political struggle as leading down a blind alley; and that without political preparation or propaganda the revolution could be achieved overnight.

In 1862 Bakunin escaped from prison in Russia, and in 1864 met Marx in London, from whom he learned of the founding of the First International in that year. He promised his help and they parted on good terms, Bakunin to go to Italy to sow the seeds of the anarchist movement there. In 1867 he moved to Geneva and next year founded the "Alliance of Socialist Democracy," which was generally called at the time "The Alliance," and which operated first in an organisation "The League of Peace and Freedom" and then within the First International itself. The Alliance declared itself atheist, demanded the levelling of all classes, and condemned participation in politics as opportunist and reactionary. The result was that when the new society applied to the General Council to be affiliated to the International as a separate organisation, with its own constitution and its own programme, Marx used his influence to have the application turned down. From his headquarters at Geneva, Bakunin had already created a powerful and wide-spread movement and next year came to the Basle Congress to fight it out with Marx.

At the Basle Congress Bakunin had strong support, particularly among the Belgian, Swiss, Italian and Spanish delegates, of which four of the latter were present; and he might well have gained the upperhand, had not the Franco-Prussian War interrupted the proceedings of the International, which did not meet again until Sept. 1871, when the decision of the London Conference proved to be in Marx's favour. The abortive insurrection attempted by Bakunin at Lyons in the preceding year and his complicity in the Nietchayev affair, with the details of which the European Press was ringing, convinced the majority of the General Council of the necessity of getting rid of Bakunin if the whole organisation was not to be branded as a hot-bed of crime and banditry. In the light of this incident the soul of terrorist anarchism stood revealed. It was the lightning flash that lit up the depths, and by an extraordinary coincidence there was then living in Russia a novelist with precisely those qualities of genius essential for a successful exploration of the strange world of Nihilism; for there can be little doubt that Dostoevsky had

the Nietchayev affair in mind in writing *The Possessed*. In its insight into the cruel and depraved spirit that atheistic terrorism inevitably breeds in its disciples this novel is worth dozens of academic treatises.

Nietchayev first appeared in Geneva in the spring of 1869. His chief characteristic was his complete unscruplousness and his absolute devotion to Bakunin, whose teaching he accepted blindly. In the autumn of 1869 he returned to Russia, and with Bakunin's authority organised terrorist groups there. The following passage from one of the manifestoes addressed by Bakunin to the Russian students, from whose ranks were to come the leaders of anarchism, will give some idea of his teaching: "Robbery is one of the most honourable forms of Russian national life. The brigand is a hero; the defender, the popular avenger, the irreconcilable enemy of the State . . . He who does not understand robbery can understand nothing in the history of the Russian masses . . . It is through brigandage only that the vitality, passion, and force of the people are established . . . The brigands scattered in the forests, the cities, and villages of all Russia, and the brigands confined in the innumerable prisons of the Empire, form an unique and invisible world, strongly bound together, the world of the Russian revolution." With his head full of such admirable precepts as these Nietchayev was hard at work when suddenly the authorities got on his track. Suspecting a student named Ivanov of being a government spy, Nietchayev, aided by other members of the group, murdered him and again fled to Europe, leaving his unfortunate associates in the lurch. The whole affair bears too close a resemblance to what happens in Dostoevsky's novel *The Possessed* to be a mere coincidence; and indeed the following words, in which Bakunin describes the character of his associate, might be a description of the chief conspirator in Dostoevsky's work. "For Nietchayev," says Bakunin, "truth, mutual confidence, real and strict solidarity only exist between a dozen individuals who form the *sanctus sanctorum* of the Society. All the rest are to serve as blind instruments . . . they are conspiracy-fodder . . . In the

name of the cause it is his duty to gain possession of your whole person without your knowledge . . . If your friend has a wife or a daughter, he will manage to seduce her and give her a baby in order to force her to break away from official morality and into a revolutionary protest." Here indeed is the fine flower of increasing misery: Capitalism does not work fast enough; it is up to the revolution to aid it in multiplying paupers and prostitutes; and with their aid will come the *Brave New World.*

Those arrested in connection with the Nietchayev affair were mostly students, and in the course of their trial in the summer of 1871 the prosecution made public a number of unsigned documents glorifying banditry and crime. They included Bakunin's notorious *Revolutionary Catechism*, and most of them were written by him. "The anarchist," says the *Revolutionary Catechism* (which was popular reading in Barcelona at least up to the other day), "has only one aim, one object of study, namely destruction . . . Between him and society there is war to the death—incessant, irreconcilable. He ought to be ready to kill with his own hand all who obstruct the revolution—and himself be prepared in the cause of the revolution to suffer torture or to die." When we recollect that this is a fair specimen of the sort of literature on which the anarchists in Spain have been fed and brought up for over two generations, recent occurrences there will not appear a matter for surprise. The revelation of one of the leading figures of the First International in such a lurid light was in all conscience bad enough, but worse still was the connection of the Alliance and its Russian branch with the International disclosed in the course of the trial. Little wonder that the General Council, which contained the usual proportion of amiable socialists, should have been in a hurry to dissociate itself from Bakunin and from his confederates and methods.

Immediately after the London Conference the Bakuninists declared war on Marx and on the General Council. They accused Marx of attempting to impose himself and his authoritarian theories on the International. It was really a struggle

for the control of the International, and the methods by which Bakunin attempted to bring it into his own hands were those of chicane and intrigue. But they were gentlemanly compared with those employed by Marx. The Congress which was to decide the issue and for which both parties had been preparing feverishly met at the Hague in Sept. 1872. Having already broken off all relations with the General Council, the Italian Bakuninists sent no representatives; but the four Spanish delegates as well as eight Belgian and four Dutch delegates were on Bakunin's side. They were fatally handicapped on account of the absence of Bakunin himself, and in his absence were heavily outvoted first on the question of political action and then on the question of Bakunin's expulsion. The reason given for his expulsion was his connection with the Nietchayev affair.

It was a Pyrrhic victory for Marx; for if Bakunin failed to bring the International under his own control, he succeeded in splitting it from top to bottom. The decision to transfer the General Council from London to New York caused further secessions, and though it was said that it had fled from the revolution over the Atlantic Ocean, it was really in flight from the incorrigible Bakunin. The Sixth Congress of the International, which the General Council in New York called for the 8th Sept., 1873, in Geneva, was mainly concerned, so to speak, with arranging for its decent burial. A counter Congress held by Bakunin at Geneva on the 1st Sept. is evidence that anarchism was at this time a more vital force than Marxism and was making rapid headway in the Latin countries, as may be seen from the attendance of delegations from France, Spain, Italy, and Switzerland.

In truth the First International died at the Hague Congress in Sept., 1872, although not until 1876 was a formal certificate of death issued by the General Council in New York. After 1872 the two chief protagonists of free communism and state communism went their separate ways never to meet again, Marx and his disciples to preach mainly in eastern, central and northern Europe the gospel of the class war and the machiavellian political manoeuvre for the conquest of power

which we recognise to-day in the United or Popular Front: Bakunin, on the other hand, went with his disciples, Cesar de Paepe, Carlo Cafiero, James Guillaume, and Schwitzguebel to launch in Italy, Spain, Southern France, Portugal and the French and Italian parts of Switzerland their respective anarchist movements.

For Bakunin Italy and Spain always seemed to offer the most promising fields, for these countries appeared to his fevered imagination to possess a particularly virulent brand of the lumpenproletariat, the hobo-proletariat, which for him was the real germ carrier of the social revolution. In both countries sections of the peasantry were submerged in misery and destitution, and in consequence banditry had become endemic in parts of the countryside. There, too, was the educated and half educated youth without prospect of making a career in bourgeois society ready to provide revolutionary leadership. In a word, all the elements to which he attached such great importance in Russia—the hobo-proletariat, the Jacquerie, the banditry, the restless and discontented youth from middle class families—all these elements were, he believed, to be found in their quintessential and most inflammable state in Italy, Spain, and Russia.

On the eve of the Congress of the First International held at the Hague in Sept. 1872, the Latin federations—Spanish, Italian, Belgian and Swiss—had constituted among themselves a federal union which followed Bakunin. Within these federations developed what may be described as modern anarchism. In the rest of Europe Bakunin's influence gradually declined. As we have mentioned, his followers held a Congress in 1873 in Geneva which was comparatively successful; but Congresses held in 1874 in Brussels, in 1876 in Berne, and in 1877 in Ghent showed that outside the Latin federations anarchism was a declining force. The disgust with which the Sinn Féin movement regarded parliamentary methods of agitation after the Home Rule fiasco of 1914 was mild compared with the disgust with which the anarchists viewed the participation of socialists in parliamentary politics. To this is to be traced their failure to win mass support outside

the Latin countries—in which, in any case, parliamentary institutions did not lend themselves readily to schemes of social reform. The remarkable successes achieved by the social democratic party in Germany along political and parliamentary lines left the Latin anarchists unmoved in the conviction that direct action—" the propaganda of the deed," as Bakunin puts it—was the only form of action consistent with the principles of the social revolution.

When Bakunin died in 1876, the anarchist movement had already struck deep roots in Italy, Spain and Russia. The great anarch was dead, but his spirit and ideas lived on in these countries. There were a variety of factors which particularly predisposed the Spanish social revolutionary movement to anarchism : the fierce individualism which modern historians all note to be the outstanding characteristic of the Spanish people ; the backwash of Masonic and Liberal ideas which, since the anti-Catholic legislation of Mendizábal between 1837 and 1844, had steadily undermined the authority of the Church ; the sudden development of the factory system and small scale industry against the background of a countryside traditionally Catholic ; the confusion of ideas, the social tensions the miseries and brutal exploitations of the worker which the new industrial capitalism everywhere brought in its wake ; the infiltration from the beginning of the century of the doctrines of the utopian socialists ; and, above all, the fact that the social revolutionary movement was at the cross-roads, undecided which way to turn, just when Bakunin's influence began to be felt. All these diverse tendencies, each in its own field, helped to prepare the ground for anarchism.

It is significant that the doctrines of Rousseau and the utopian socialists reached Spain through the same channel as they had reached Bakunin, that is to say, through Fourier. Fernando Garrido, who in 1845 founded the first socialist journal in Spain, *La Atracción*, popularised Fourier's ideas ; and the year 1868, which saw the expulsion of the Bourbon dynasty, also saw the arrival in Spain of the first representative of the International in the person of Farinelli, of the Bakunin

school—soon followed by Lafargue, Marx's son-in-law. Thus the stage was set in Spain for a struggle between Bakuninists and Marxists. In the interlude of six years, 1868–74, between the expulsion of Queen Isabel and the return of her son Alfonso XII to the throne, the Spanish government indulged in some wild political experiments. In Feb. 1873 the Cortes voted a Republic, but it was to remain a dead letter. At all events, in the prevailing confusion the anarchist and socialist movements made rapid headway, more particularly in Barcelona, Cordova, Oviedo, and Saragossa. In 1868 socialists and anarchists had come together to form a branch of the International, which did not, however, obtain recognition from the General Council until 1871 and which all this time was secretly linked to Bakunin's Alliance. Bakunin's interests and ideas were well looked after within the Spanish organisation by Farinelli and the young Barcelona journalist, Anselmo Lorenzo, and against them Lafargue, Marx's son-in-law, was unable to make headway. Two Congresses were held in Barcelona, one in 1870, the other in 1872, attended by 150 labour associations. In a few years the Spanish branch of the International had gathered 25,000 members, and its progress had so far exceeded Bakunin's expectations that in April of that year he wrote to congratulate his Spanish supporters : " What Italy has lacked up to the moment was not the correct instinct, but the organisation and the idea. Both are now developing so rapidly that together with Spain Italy is perhaps at this moment the most revolutionary country." That Spain has become one of Bakunin's strongholds is further shown by the fact that in 1872 the Spanish branch joined the union of Latin federations and sent four representatives to support Bakunin at the Hague Congress in Sept. of that year. The national Congresses of 1872 and 1873, at Saragossa and Cordova, completed the split between the Marxists who styled themselves *autoritarios* and the followers of Bakunin known as *anti-autoritarios*. Despite some secessions, the triumph of Bakunin was decisive and complete. Not until 1931 did the Marxists rise again as a major force in this left-wing politics of Spain. But the

anarchists were shortly to give Spain a foretaste of what anarchism meant. Before the year 1873 was out, they had drawn first blood. With Fourier's aphorism, " Civilisation is the enemy," as their watchword they played a large part in the insurrections which followed the abortive proclamation of a Republic by the Cortes.

The ups and downs of the anarchist movement between the Restoration in 1874 and the advent of Francisco Ferrer in the '90's need not delay us long. It was in these years the movement passed from theory to practice ; the dragon's teeth scattered in the cities and villages of Spain by Bakunin's disciples, Lorenzo, Salvochea, and Mella, produced its first crop of assassins and vandals. The romantic halo which had surrounded anarchism so long as it was just a theory vanished, and it was seen that the unflattering description of man as " a ravenous animal delighting in human blood " seemed to fit the facts more closely than Rousseau's picture of the noble savage. With Francisco Ferrer Russian Nihilism acclimatised itself in Spain. It was the hand of this " University Pugachoff " unchained the storm that has ever since continued to rage against the Catholic Church, and which even in the nineties showed its mad lust of destruction in such acts as the bombings of Corpus Christi processions. The atheistic schools established by Ferrer under the name *Escuela Moderna* were also schools for terrorists, and the men trained in them played a leading part in the terrible outbreak in Barcelona in 1909 and in the entire subsequent development of the anarchist movement.

To-day the Spanish anarchists have two main organisations. The one, until 1931 illegal, is called the Federación Anarquista Iberica (Iberian Federation of Anarchists) and is commonly referred to by its initials F.A.I. A few years ago it had approximately 10,000 members, but probably has many more now. It was founded in 1911 as a *corps d'élite* of doctrinaires, and its main function has been to co-ordinate the efforts of the anarchist unions and to safeguard the anarchist orthodoxy. The other is the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour) commonly called the C.N.T. It

had over 500,000 members a year ago and now has close on a million. The anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. was founded at the beginning of the century under the influence of a combination of the ideas of Bakunin and Sorel.

It is undeniable that between syndicalism and anarchism there is a very close relationship. Based on the notions of self-help and self-government in industry, in themselves fruitful conceptions, syndicalism represents a sort of proletarian Sinn Féin. " Ourselves Alone " is the basic idea of all forms of syndicalism ; but like the Sinn Féin movement, at a certain stage in its development syndicalism turned from mutualism and passive resistance to violence. The doctrine that society should be organised for the producers by the producers, and that economic action was the only effective action, since politics were but economics in a disguised form, was in the direct tradition of Proudhon and Bakunin, and was therefore bound to make a strong appeal to Spanish anarchists. The anarchists detest any kind of centralisation, and syndicalism seemed to offer just the right solution to the problem of organisation without centralisation. But above and beyond all this, it was a cult of violence, a technique of direct action unconnected with politics or politicians. Indeed some of the leading French syndicalists, as for example Pelloutier and Pouget, were anarchists of the Bakunin or dynamite school. How readily syndicalism, with its abhorrence of the State, its pathetic faith in the general strike and its cult of violence and sabotage, slides into mere destructive anarchism is quite evident from its history in Italy and in Spain.

Although not so strong numerically as the Marxist " General Union of Workers " (Unión General de Trabajadores), with its membership of more than a million, the C.N.T. is in every other respect at least as strong throughout Spain, and stronger in Catalonia where it controls 70% of the Reds. The feud between Marx and Bakunin persists to the present day between the U.G.T. and the C.N.T., though it is true that since the beginning of the civil war their common guilt for individual and mass murders and the motive of self-preservation have tended to bring them into temporary alliance. Three years

ago nobody could have suspected that they would lay aside their personal and doctrinal differences and join in the fight for any sort of State. For the anarchist, next to the Church, the State is the arch-enemy. It is an abomination to be wiped off the face of the earth. Politics and political parties are equally anathema to him, for what are politics but the tentacles by which the State feeds itself! He will neither have hand, act, nor part in sending anyone to parliament, there to be corrupted, demoralised, and weaned from faith in the one and only weapon of the working class, *direct action*—that is the redemption of society by the blood of its enemies. The anarchist leader, Angel Pestanao, called upon his followers to take no part in the general election of 1931, and at the height of the risings in the Asturias and in Catalonia in Oct. 1934, the anarchist leaders turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the communists and the socialists for united action. Their newspapers *Solidaridad Obrera* and *Tierra y Liberdad* even went the length of attacking the revolutionary movement.

All the more surprising, then, is the fact that the anarchists were persuaded to throw in their weight with the Popular Front. Contrary to the non-political principles which they had cherished for seventy years, they recommended participation in the general election of Feb. last. It is true no anarchist candidates were included in the lists of the Popular Front. Yet their voting power was sufficient to decide the election in its favour. No doubt their change of attitude was due in the main to the knowledge that the rank and file would vote in the election even in the teeth of explicit instructions not to do so. For all that, it is no small tribute to the tactical skill and persuasive powers of the representatives in Spain of the Third International that they should have coaxed this ferocious bird, half goose, half vulture, off its perch. It is no exaggeration to say that, with the arrival in the political arena of the anarchists side by side with the marxists, anarchy itself arrived on the scene; for no other word can do justice to the state of affairs which has existed in the country since February. Books on the present situation written from opposite points of view, such as *The Spanish Tragedy* by Prof. Allison Peers and *Spain To-Day* by E. Conze, as well as

reliable reports arriving from Spain, establish beyond all doubt that since February the so-called democratic ministers have been merely a row of puppets which the marxists and anarchists set up or pulled down as they pleased, until finally in August the rude fist of Largo Caballero swept them off the board and the Red atheist dictatorship came forward in its naked reality.

Although the best authenticated reports from Spain show that the anarchists have lived up to their terrible reputation and at least at the outset of the war literally exhausted the possibilities of insensate cruelty, it is impossible not to recognise the superiority of the anarchist passion for liberty over the Marxian will to power. In the scale of anarchist values there is nothing higher than liberty, nothing worse than coercion. Could there be a greater irony than that such a doctrine should have engendered such infra-human and anti-human baseness ? Thus the secretary of the Anarchist Federation of Barcelona broadcasts the following order : " Let the people forget all scruples about artistic treasures and moral values. Kill your father, your mother, your children ; but from the blood we spill may the liberty and freedom of the revolution arise " ! And this message is neither better nor worse than scores of others. What are we to think of this phenomenon ? The religion of revolution inspired by the faith of creating a heaven on earth, of raising man to the stature of a god, creates instead a hell upon earth and debases man to the level of the beast. Having denied God in the name of man, man ends up by denying and torturing himself in the name of an inhuman collectivity. Whence this terrifying paradox ? It has occurred again and again in history. Separate humanity from the living waters which spring perpetually from their source in divinity, and humanity rots away until it becomes less than human. To be wholly human is all that man can ever hope to be. Long before the revolutionary era Pascal looked at the world and his conclusion was : *Qui veut faire l'ange fait la bête.* Never has the case against the religion of revolutionary optimism been put with such insight and in so few words.

JAMES HOGAN

THE COMING CRISIS OF POPULATION

The Future Population of Ireland

BY GEORGE O'BRIEN

Professor of Economics, University College, Dublin

THERE can be no doubt that the population problem is the most important of the questions which come within the scope of economic science. Man is the end as well as the means of all economic activity, and the number of inhabitants is the most essential factor that determines, on the one hand, the volume of the output of wealth and, on the other hand, the abundance of enjoyment in any nation or in the world as a whole. There can be no question that, *prima facie* at least, a large population is preferable to a small. All the richest and most cultivated societies in ancient and modern times have been densely peopled, and the variety and colour of a community must obviously increase as the population becomes more numerous. Measured by the lowest hedonistic standard of the utilitarian philosopher, more people enable more utilities to be enjoyed, while the higher aesthetic and spiritual standards of measurement must approve of the greatest possible supply of talents to be exercised and of souls to be sanctified.

In spite of these obvious considerations, the nineteenth century regarded the growing population of the world with fear and horror. Public opinion was influenced by the teaching of the classical economists, who in their turn were influenced by Malthus. It was the insistence on the danger of a too rapid increase of population that earned political economy its title of "the dismal science," not without justification. In no branch of economics has there been such a change in the twentieth century from the attitude of the nineteenth as in the outlook on the problems of population. Not only have the gloomy predictions of Malthus been belied by experience, but the world is faced to-day with the prospect of a

reduction in numbers so great as to cause widespread dislocation and disaster. This is unquestionably the major economic problem of the age, and it is curious that so many economists are content to fiddle on monetary, financial and banking problems, when the Rome of all economic activity, mankind itself, is beginning to burn away, possibly to extinction.

Every newspaper reader is aware, in a general way, that Great Britain, France and some other countries are likely to experience a falling population in the future, but the full extent and significance of the demographic changes that are about to take place are not fully appreciated even by informed opinion. There should be no excuse for such ignorance or indifference any longer, since the whole question has been most lucidly and exhaustively reviewed by Professor Carr-Saunders.[1] Already, by virtue of his previous writings, an acknowledged master of the subject, the author of this valuable treatise has put students of the social sciences still further in his debt. The population problem is fully discussed in all its numerous aspects, biological, social and economic; the history of the past is used to explain the present and to predict the future; and full use is made of the abundant material and the elegant apparatus for its interpretation for which the economist is indebted to the statistician. This is a book which can no more be neglected by the student of public affairs to-day than Malthus's *Essay on Population* could have been neglected a hundred years ago; but it is a book compared with which Malthus's *Essay* makes cheerful reading, because it foretells the death rather than the surging abundance of the human race.

Every writer is the creature of his time and cannot fail to be influenced by his environment. Malthus lived at a period of quite abnormal population growth, and he was probably correct in his conclusion that the indefinite continuance of the same rate of increase would, sooner or later, tend to produce a pressure on the natural resources of the

[1] *World Population: Past Growth and Present Trends.* By A. M. Carr-Saunders. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1936. 12s. 6d.

world as they appeared in his time. What Malthus did not realize was that the prodigious growth of population which he observed was the result of a falling death rate as much as of a rising birth rate, that the rate of growth was transient and was destined not to be indefinitely maintained, and that the natural resources of the world and the efficiency of their exploitation were to become far greater than he had any reason to assume. Since the publication of Malthus's *Essay*, the death rate has continued to decline, but in the last fifty years the birth rate has declined much more rapidly, and a great expansion of agricultural and industrial production has taken place, with the result that the modern world, which requires a large and increasing population if its expanding resources are to be profitably exploited, is faced with the prospect of a gradually diminishing number of consumers. When production was carried on under difficulties and diminishing returns were experienced, large families were the order of the day, whereas now, when technical efficiency has greatly increased and increasing returns are general, small families are threatening a failure of demand.

Statistics have been declared to constitute the third order of mendacity, and some support might appear to be given to this accusation if the vital statistics were uncritically examined. At first glance it would appear that an excess of births over deaths would ensure an increase in the population, and that the danger of a falling population would not exist so long as such an excess continued. Such an excess, however, is quite compatible with an eventual certain decline that, once it has set in, may be cumulative and very rapid. The reason for this apparent paradox is that a population depends for its increase on one section of its total, namely the women of child-bearing age. If the numbers in this section are falling and the fertility rate remains unchanged, the population must eventually begin to decline. If, in addition to the fall of numbers in this section, the fertility rate also declines, the fall in the population may be very rapid indeed. In order to forecast the future population of any community it is necessary (1) to ascertain the number of women of child-bearing age and the

number of female children which they are bearing; (2) to estimate, allowing for juvenile mortality, how far the latter will numerically replace the former. The ratio that is deduced from this calculation is termed the net reproduction rate, the title given to it by its discoverer, Dr. Kuczynski.[1]

If the net reproduction rate be less than unity, the population is approaching a decline, which may be temporarily masked by a drop in the death rate among children and elderly persons. The figures of the net reproduction rates for different countries are all to be found in Professor Carr-Saunders's book, from which it appears that the principal European countries have already rates less than unity and that many other countries will, if the present trends continue, have similar rates in the near or distant future. The whole of Europe, the United States, the British Dominions, Japan and other countries are approaching their maximum populations. The only thing that can prevent the population of these countries from falling is an increase in the fertility rate, which, as is commonly known, is not at all probable. Indeed, the fertility rate is much more likely to fall than to rise, and the decline of population may therefore be cumulative and rapid—and, in some cases, catastrophic. By way of example, it may be stated that one much-quoted calculation, made by an esteemed authority, estimates that the population of England and Wales in the year 2,035 may be 4,426,000, about one-eighth of what it is to-day.

Whether the tendencies revealed by these statistical studies are matter for congratulation or regret depends on the answers to two questions: first, is the world overpopulated to-day? and, second, what are the probable economic effects of a falling population? The first of these questions is extraordinarily difficult to answer, since no unanimity can be attained regarding the tests by which an *optimum* population is to be judged. In agricultural areas the law of diminishing returns, at any given stage of farming technique, sets an upward limit to the numbers that the soil can support in

[1] *Population Movements.* By Robert R. Kuczynski. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1936.

comfort, and too great subdivision of farms and inadequate output in relation to the labour expended may be danger signals that a condition of overpopulation has been reached or is being approached. Other agricultural areas may be under-populated because the land is not sufficiently peopled to enable it to produce its maximum output. Regarding the world as an agricultural unit, some areas are overpopulated and others underpopulated, and there is no doubt that migrations from the former to the latter would be beneficial to both. But, as Professor Carr-Saunders points out, such desirable movements are impeded by the natural immobility of labour, especially of the very poor peasants, and by artificial restrictions on international migration based on racial and political grounds.

The question whether an industrialized area is overpopulated is almost insoluble, since the test supplied by the law of diminishing returns in the case of agriculture is not applicable. Changes in industrial technique, in the demand for manufactured products and in international trading conditions are so frequent and so unpredictable that it is exceedingly difficult to say whether overpopulation exists. The mere presence of a large body of unemployed is not in itself evidence of overpopulation, since unemployment is the result of such a large number of different causes. The second question which we have proposed, namely, what are the probable economic effects of a falling population, is, however, easier to answer in the case of an industrial than of an agricultural area, because it is now generally agreed that a decline of numbers exercises a depressing effect on the demand for many kinds of industrial products and is a potent cause of unemployment both of labour and capital. Modern industry is organized to manufacture large quantities at a lower cost than small, and nothing is more deterrent to investment than a shrinking demand. Most economists would agree to-day that it is easier to maintain full employment in a rising than in a falling population, and that industrialists must regard a declining home population with feelings of the greatest anxiety, particularly when it takes place at a time when the

expansion of foreign markets is being retarded by poverty or by protection.

But, it may be asked, are these evils to be endured without any attempt to avert them? If society requires a rate of population increase which is not being provided by the existing birth rate, there is an obvious conflict between the interest of the community and that of the individual which clearly calls for some measure of public interference. Professor Carr-Saunders fully discusses the devices by means of which the growth of population can be stimulated, but he is rather pessimistic about their success. The State can prohibit emigration, but this does not do much to stem a fall in a country with a low net reproduction rate because the emigration from such a country is not likely to be large. On the other hand, it can encourage immigration, but the difficulty in practice is that, owing to racial and political prejudices, the only countries from which immigrants are, as a rule, welcomed are those which may be least anxious to lose their own citizens. If Australia were to encourage the immigration of some of the teeming millions of India or China the result would probably be excellent, but it is the last thing that Australia is likely to do. Moreover it must be remembered that, from the world standpoint, migration does not affect the size of the population as distinguished from its distribution, since the gains of the areas of arrival are exactly offset by the losses of the areas of departure.

It therefore becomes necessary to inquire in what ways the State can stimulate the natural increase of population that is the excess of births over deaths. It is possible to reduce the death rate by numerous sanitary and hygienic measures, and in fact the great increase of population observed by Malthus was largely the result of measures of this kind. It must be remembered, however, that the death rate cannot be indefinitely reduced. The birth rate can fall to zero, but the death rate cannot. There is this equally important though less obvious consideration to be borne in mind. For the purpose of arresting a long-run decline in population, the only death rate whose reduction is relevant is that of women o

child-bearing age, and the expectation of life already covers child-bearing age for such a large proportion of women that little remains to be gained in this direction. Possibly the most useful, if the least probable, step that could be taken in relation to the death rate would be the abolition of war.

We are therefore driven to the conclusion that, if the natural increase is to be stimulated, an attempt must be made to raise the birth rate. The measures that have been taken in this direction by certain European governments, notably those of Italy, France, Belgium and Germany, form the subject of Mr. Glass's valuable book,[1] the conclusions of which are fully discussed by Professor Carr-Saunders. Of course there are numerous methods by which this object can be attempted, if not achieved. The legal discouragement of contraception is one important negative method adopted in the Free State. Among the positive methods may be mentioned the encouragement of early marriage by housing facilities, the provision of free education and other services required by children, the graduation of taxation in favour of large families, a system of family allowances for wage-earners, and bounties on births graduated upwards with the number of children. These and numerous other devices have been employed in many European countries, and the general conclusion to be drawn from these experiments is that the results have been disappointing. The increase in the birth rate that has followed these encouragements has, in most cases, been negligible and can frequently be attributed to other independent causes.

There is no resisting the conclusion that the declining fertility of modern times is the result of profound and strong impulses which cannot easily be overcome. Professor Carr-Saunders, after a very full discussion, decides that the growth of contraceptive practices is the immediate cause of the declining birth rate, except in Ireland, where the effective cause is the postponement of marriage; but then, as he says, "Ireland is an exception to most rules." But these explanations do not go to the root of the problem, which is to seek the

[1] *The Struggle for Population*. By D. V. Glass. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1936. 7s. 6d.

reason why parents should be so anxious to avoid large families. The reader who wishes to probe into this vitally important problem must himself study Professor Carr-Saunders's book, which cannot be summarized in a short review. Some of the outstanding points are that the whole of modern civilization seems to be attuned to the small family. There is no place in the model flat or the small car of to-day for children, who would, in addition to causing overcrowding, limit their parents' freedom to pursue the fashionable recreations of the hour. Of course, this is but one aspect of the larger question of the relation between the standard of living and the birth rate. All modern statisticians are agreed that a rising standard of living is accompanied by a falling birth rate, and the standard of living of mankind is unquestionably rising at the present time.

Apart from these material factors, there are probably psychological factors that must be taken into account. The world to-day is in a state of profound insecurity, which has the effect of making everybody reluctant to increase his or her future responsibilities. Parents live in constant dread, if poor, of unemployment and, if rich, of the confiscation or destruction of their wealth; and many people of this generation are unwilling to bring into the world children who, when they grow up, may fall victims to Mars. The great rise that has taken place in the world's population since 1750 has been a reflection of the optimistic outlook engendered by the industrial revolution and the philosophy of liberalism, and it is unreasonable to expect a movement, which had its origin in an atmosphere of hope, to flourish in an atmosphere of fear. It may be that the phase which we are approaching is less abnormal than that which we are leaving behind, and that the principal difference between the pre-Malthusian and the post-Malthusian age will prove to be that, in the former, the natural check on the growth of population operated through a high death rate, while, in the latter, it will operate through a low birth rate. If this pessimistic surmise be correct, the power of the State to check the population decline may be insignificant.

The problems which we have been discussing are of particular interest to Irish readers. For one thing, Ireland is the only country, as far as we know, that has experienced a falling population in modern times, and the lessons to be derived from a study of Irish economic history since the Famine should prove useful in other countries whose populations are about to fall. Economic science was developed in countries where a rising population was assumed to be the normal state of affairs, and this is one reason why the so-called orthodox economic doctrines produced such bad results when applied to Irish conditions in the second half of the nineteenth century. When a general decline of population begins to appear, the new orthodox economic doctrines will doubtless differ from the old, not because the old were wrong, but because the assumptions on which they were based will have altered. When such a period arrives, the experience of Ireland since the Famine will prove very illuminating. The singling of double railway tracks and the abandonment of public buildings which have come to be too large for their original purpose are but two examples of the measures which were necessary in Ireland when the population shrank. Numerous other examples could be found of errors of over-investment caused by the failure correctly to forecast the future population changes. Ireland will be a valuable pathological specimen when Europe becomes a hospital full of patients suffering from wasting disease.

It is commonly assumed that the Free State, now that overseas emigration has ceased, will prove an exception to the doom that appears to overhang mankind. It seems to be taken for granted that the anaemic patient will become plethoric as soon as the plethoric patients become anaemic. That this optimism lacks foundation is amply proved by the important paper read last year by Mr. R. C. Geary at the Statistical and Social Inquiry of Ireland,[1] where it is demonstrated that, even assuming no emigration, the population

[1] *The Future Population of Saorstát Éireann and Some Observations on Population Statistics.* By R. C. Geary. Proceedings of the Social and Statistical Society of Ireland, 1935-6, p. 15.

of the Free State will reach a maximum within a hundred years if the present trends of the vital statistics continue. What Mr. Geary attempts in this paper is best explained in his own words: "It is proposed to give two tables purporting to forecast the population at decennial intervals to the year 2016, based upon the 1926 Census of Population and 1926 Life Table (*i.e.*, assuming that the mortality rates are the same as in 1925-7), and with two assumptions in regard to the number of births: (i) that the annual number of births will remain constant at about its present figure, and (ii) that the annual number of births per 1,000 females aged 15-44 years will remain constant. It will presently be seen that these different concepts, each of which possesses some degree of plausibility, result in forecasts which, while they diverge fairly widely with advancing decades, at least give a limit to population (according to present indications) during the next 80 years. The further assumption is made that emigration and immigration are nil." On these assumptions Mr. Geary calculates that "the population of the Free State is unlikely to exceed 3,700,000 during the next 80 years."

In view of the history of Ireland in recent times, the most unreal of Mr. Geary's assumptions is that emigration and immigration will be nil, as indeed he recognises when he writes: "The artificial nature of these assumptions becomes evident when trends in births, deaths and emigration have been analysed." It is evident that his principal object was to attempt to establish reasonable *maxima* for future population. He justifies the plausibility of assuming migration nil for the purpose of these calculations on the ground that, as emigration has been, in the past, the most fluctuating and therefore the most unpredictable feature affecting the Irish population, no assumption with any pretence to reality could be made regarding it; and he continues: "It is only because emigration overseas has practically ceased, and for some years to come may be assumed to be negligible, *while emigration to Great Britain has not assumed large dimensions*, that these computations have any interest." The statement which we have printed in italics (which are not in Mr. Geary's paper)

has been disproved by the 1936 Census,[1] which shows that between 1926 and 1936 the net emigration other than overseas, which is in fact practically the same as the net emigration to the United Kingdom, was 78,130, composed of 31,421 males and 46,709 females. This is a substantially larger figure than that expected by Mr. Geary, who estimates that the annual net emigration to Great Britain averaged about 4,000 during the years 1931-4. Of course he was writing early in 1935, since when emigration to Great Britain seems to have increased considerably. For his 1936 estimate he took account only of overseas emigration during the last decade and ignored migration to Great Britain, sufficiently reliable statistics for which were not available. As a result his figure of 3,051,000 for 1936 is in excess of the actual population of 2,965,854 by approximately the amount of net emigration to Great Britain. For his forecasts subsequent to 1936 he ignored all migration.

The only relevant criticism that can be made of the general basis on which these computations rest is that it is not safe to make forecasts on the assumption that emigration will be nil, and that, once the assumption is dropped, the actual population in each future decade will almost certainly be considerably less than Mr. Geary's estimate. Mr. Geary is himself inclined to the opinion that, at some future date, emigration to the United States will be resumed. This may or may not prove correct, but what can be stated with a much stronger degree of probability is that the existing emigration to Great Britain will tend to increase and may, without the addition of any overseas emigration, easily assume such dimensions as to outweigh the natural increase in the Free State, in which case the country will again experience a steadily decreasing population many years earlier than Mr. Geary's paper would suggest.

The reasonableness of this prediction cannot be denied. Assuming the continuance of the present trends of British vital statistics, the population of Great Britain and in particular the population of people of working age will soon

[1] *Saorstát Éireann, Census of Population*, 1936. *Preliminary Report.* Dublin Stationery Office. 6d.

fall substantially, and there will be a demand for labour, which cannot be satisfied without immigration. It is not generally realized that between 1920 and 1930 France received 3,000,000 immigrants, and it is almost certain that Great Britain will be doing likewise before many years have passed. Ireland is, for many reasons, the obvious source of such immigrants as Great Britain will require. Is there any reason to think that the vital statistics in the Free State will show any change in response to this incessant demand for labour? Mr. Geary thinks that, "under the stimuli of an increased home and foreign demand for population, the marriage rate may be increased and the age at marriage considerably reduced to give a higher birth rate, and mortality rates will certainly be lowered in the future, so that some emigration may not be inconsistent with an increasing population." In this opinion Professor Carr-Saunders concurs in a remarkable passage: "Ireland would seem to be the only country of which we could predict with certainty that opportunities for further expansion would be followed by a growth of population, for in Ireland alone does the method of keeping the birth rate down (*i.e.*, late marriage) demand self-control; elsewhere the method is agreeable in that it admits the enjoyment of pleasures without adding to burdens." Possibly these two eminent authorities are right, but an equally plausible forecast would be that the demand for labour in Great Britain will increase so rapidly that nothing short of a revolutionary increase in the Irish birth rate will suffice to prevent the population from falling, and that such an increase is very improbable, in view of the increasing urbanization of the Free State and the rising standard of living. If the natural forces determining births, deaths and migration are allowed to operate unchecked, there is a definite possibility of a declining population in the Free State, not in the distant but in the immediate future.

Assuming that this possibility is present, the question immediately arises whether the natural forces are to be allowed to operate unchecked, and, if not, how they are to be deflected. Mr. Geary says that "it may be taken as axiomatic that

Saorstát government will allow emigration to assume dimensions which will lead to a permanent lowering of the present population"; and in this opinion he is almost certainly correct. The consequences of a falling population in the future would be exceedingly grave. The policy of industrial protection has been justified on the ground that an increasing population may be relied upon to absorb the output of the factories established behind the tariff wall, and the success of the policy of self-sufficiency in agriculture depends upon a growing home market to take the place of the export markets which have deteriorated. A large part of the investment by public authorities in building, road construction and the provision of public utilities will prove to have been excessive if the population falls. This public investment has been financed by considerable borrowing, the burden of which, per head of the population, will become increasingly onerous if the population declines. Taxation per head will also increase in these circumstances, since so many branches of public expenditure are relatively rigid and do not vary with changes in the population. All these evils were experienced in the second half of the nineteenth century, as is convincingly shown in the Report of the Financial Relations Commission 1896, and they will undoubtedly be experienced again if the population continues its downward course in the future.

We may agree therefore with Mr. Geary's axiom that no government will tolerate a falling population—if, we may add, it can be prevented. It has already been pointed out that the power of any government to stimulate the natural increase has been proved by experience to be narrowly limited. A further reduction in the death rate will have only a transient effect since it cannot increase the net reproduction rate except, perhaps, in a very small degree, and the stimulation of the birth rate has proved very difficult in other countries. The negative device of discouraging contraception is already in operation, and the positive devices, attempted elsewhere, have not been successful. The increasing urbanization may lead to earlier marriages, which, as Professor Carr-Saunders points out, would be accompanied in the Free State by a rise

in the birth rate; but the change of habit in this respect would have to be very great to offset a substantial increase of emigration, such as may be confidently predicted. The conclusion appears inescapable that the only effective method of preventing the population from falling is by the public control of emigration. Such a measure is quite feasible and has been successfully adopted in other countries. In considering its introduction in the Free State, it is relevant to bear in mind that, at least since 1880, Irish emigration has been the result of attraction abroad rather than of repulsion at home, that the tradition of emigrating to better themselves is deeply rooted in the young people of Ireland, and that to keep intending emigrants in the Free State against their will would be an extremely unpopular measure, calling for a high degree of courage on the part of the government which put it in operation.

The matters discussed in this review are obviously of the greatest moment to the Free State. The shortness and incompetence of the treatment which they have received in these pages does not reduce their inherent importance. It is surprising that they have not, apparently, received a larger amount of attention by our public men, whose speeches, in the Dáil and elsewhere, have contained very few allusions to these problems. No scheme of agricultural or industrial development or of public investment can claim to have been adequately considered if regard has not been had to the probable future population. The planning of the economic life of the country in other directions is obviously futile if this most vital element be left out of account. Politicians in the Free State are generally interventionist and protectionist in outlook; but, on the central economic problem of all, the numbers of the people, they are apparently apostles of almost complete *laissez faire*. The danger of such inconsistence is that the present generation may be making sacrifices to build a structure that there will be nobody to enjoy, forgetting the saying of Pericles, that what makes a city great is not its walls but its men.

GEORGE O'BRIEN

PRESENT POSITION OF CATHOLICS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

BY "NORTHMAN."

SINCE six of the nine counties of Ulster became the separate unit known as "Northern Ireland," the same Party has been in control of affairs there. It forms the "oldest Government in the world." The personnel of the Cabinet has remained practically the same; and there is no reason for any hope or fear that the Government will in the near future change hands. At any rate, the main point is that, if after fifteen years of unfettered control the Government is convicted of misgovernment, the fault is to be laid nowhere but at its own door.

Naturally, the adherents of the Government Party are in a majority in the Six Counties. Nevertheless one cannot say that the rule of the Government elected by that majority is "democratic"; for elections in Northern Ireland are not fought on questions of policy. The party in power is not merely a party whose main plank is union with Great Britain in the Empire, as opposed (say) to Nationalism; nor is it a party whose main policy is conservative, as opposed (say) to the radicalism of Labour. It is a party built on the anti-Catholic framework of the Orange Order, and its main plank is opposition to Catholics—a systematic defamation and hatred, not of Catholic doctrines merely, but of the Catholic population of the Six Counties. This statement may seem prejudiced and anachronistic, if one is not acquainted with the workings of the average Orangeman's mind and with the machinery by which so-called leaders of public opinion make capital of anti-Catholic fanaticism. The statement will become clearer in the course of this article.

Needless to say, the ordinary non-Catholic of the Six Counties, if left to himself, would hardly become the persecuting bigot with whom Catholics of the area are all too

painfully familiar. But, unfortunately, the non-Catholic of the Six Counties is *not* left to himself—is not allowed to evolve into a decent, charitable citizen. The members of the Government and the Orange leaders see to it that his hatred of Catholics is kept at fever heat—with periodic explosions into brutal acts of "Catholic-baiting."

The chief means of inciting anti-Catholic hatred has ever been the "field" speeches on the 12th of July. On that date annually Orangemen assemble and march in procession, with full regalia and accompanied by bands, to the "field"—a place of assembly for each big district—and there listen appreciatively while "resolutions"[1] are put to them and addresses delivered by the leading brethren on the necessity of keeping up a firm front against the attacks of "Romanism"—all in commemoration of the victory of William III at the Boyne. The sameness of the speeches delivered annually to the brethren has been matter for more than one satirist. But then the denunciations of Catholics are not concerned with doctrine; they are concerned with the perpetual problem of keeping alive the fear of "Rome." While the fear of Rome converting the Protestants is kept before the audience, it is the awful possibility of the domination of Northern Ireland from the Vatican that is stressed and restressed everlastingly. For instance, during the past year the "fate of Abyssinia" was repeatedly quoted as an example of what the Protestant State of Northern Ireland might expect, if the members of the Orange Order relaxed their vigilance.

To one not living in Northern Ireland this bogey of Rome, this myth of papal domination may have no meaning; but to one living in the midst of those whose minds are poisoned in this way it has a very real and a very important bearing on daily life. Of course, the myth of papal domination is given a realistic and modern setting, and the absurdity of

[1] At the present year's assembly the following resolution was adopted: "In this time of uncertainty and grave perplexity, we earnestly call upon our brethren to close up their ranks and to present a firm and united front against the propaganda of Communism and Romanism and the insidious and secret campaign directed against the loyal and law-abiding citizens of Northern Ireland. We urge the Government to continue to enforce and, if the need arises, to further strengthen the law for the protection of all law-abiding citizens." The insinuation of this insufferable and Pharisaic self-righteousness is that the Catholics are not law-abiding citizens.

the supposed end is concealed by stressing the 'insidiousness' of the means supposed to be employed and by citing a number of supporting myths. The chief supporting myth is the 'Romish penetration' myth. For example, in a "field" speech last year (1935), on the "Twelfth," the Protestant Rector of Dundrum, Rev. H. O'Connor, M.A., in an attempt to impress the need of vigilance, said: "In Ulster[1] we maintain the Protestant position by a margin of 16 per cent. Rome is penetrating into Ulster. They have acquired property all over the Province. The money to buy this land comes out of the coffers of the Church of Rome . . . ." And this year the County Grand Master of the Derry Orangemen struck the same warning note—that "more and more R.C.s" were coming to reside in their midst—while for a speaker in the Ulster Hall, Belfast, on 31 July, 1936, the Rector of Dundrum's margin of 16 per cent. has become 10 per cent. But all these computations are mild in comparison with that given in the *Ulster Protestant*, the organ for "active" Protestants: "The increase in the Catholic population since 1913 is 200 per cent." If the Catholics in Northern Ireland are growing in numbers, it is certainly no proof of papal domination nor of any planned policy on the part of the Church. But the unfortunate fact is that, according to the census returns, they are steadily declining in numbers. The last census (1926) gives the number of the Catholics in the Six Counties as 420,428, which is 33·5 per cent. of the total; at the previous census they were 34·39 per cent. The percentage margin is, therefore, more than twice that given by the Protestant Rector of Dundrum. He and his colleagues need have no immediate fear of papal domination—at least through superiority of numbers.

But Rome has other strings to its bow, other insidious means of exercising its tyranny—namely, through Dublin. This is an awful eventuality, fraught with the most dire consequences for the Protestants of Northern Ireland. If any are sceptical or indifferent about these consequences, they have only to consider the conditions of the poor, defenceless

[1] It is part of a deliberate policy of the powers-that-be to call the Six Counties "Ulster."

non-Catholics who remained in Southern Ireland. The Orange "artists" paint the most lurid pictures of these conditions; and if it is pointed out that the Protestants of Southern Ireland have repeatedly and spontaneously testified to the most amicable relations existing between them and the Catholics, the answer is that they dare not speak of their sufferings for fear of having them increased. The Ogpu is always round the corner, ready to give another twist to the screw.

A third myth has a touch of the Hitlerite race-myth about it. According to this myth, "Rome" has a trained troop of ramping females who, by their seductive arts, win the hearts of decent young Protestants and then, by marriage, corrupt the blood that would otherwise have been 100 per cent. "true-blue" Protestant. These sirens frequent "Papist" dance-halls in order to trap the unwary Protestant who might be tempted to visit such places. This theme offers ample scope for colourful eloquence, and our mob orators do not fail to exploit it at "Twelfth" commemorative "arch" unveilings. (These "arches," which are stretched across the main thoroughfares and are often full-size replicas of "Derry's Walls," carry such pious maxims as "The Road to Hell is paved with Popery").

If one adds to these myths the others so beloved of all vilifiers of the Church—Pope Joan, Maria Monk, Walled-up Nun, Galileo, Spanish Inquisition, Immoral Popes and Cardinals, and many others which can be read in the pages of the *Ulster Protestant* or heard at frequent intervals in Belfast's Ulster Hall—one is not surprised at the ease with which anti-Catholic passions are inflamed to the point of pillage, eviction, assault, and even murder—acts for which few, if any, are ever brought to justice. How can Catholics expect justice from a Government which allows the most deliberate and inflammatory propaganda to be issued freely from official and semi-official sources, from radio, press and platform? The idea is that at all costs Rome, with her sirens and her gold and her "Free State gunmen," must be kept at bay—or, as Captain the Right Hon. Herbert Dixon, M.P., put it at Finaghy on the

" Twelfth " of this year, " the unholy alliance of Reds, Roman Catholics and rebel intellectuals banded together for the disruption of the British Empire " must itself be disrupted. The only way to attain this end is by means of a 100 per cent. Orange and Protestant Government.

Lest my readers should think that my emotions are adding to the picture, I produce some typical assurances of Cabinet Ministers to the Orangemen; and I begin with the Prime Minister, Lord Craigavon :—

> Ours is a Protestant Government, and I am an Orangeman.
>
> (12 July 1932, at Poyntzpass).

> I do not care a snap of my fingers as long as I have a staunch, loyal, Protestant majority at my back in the Ulster Parliament, and I will carry on as I have begun.
>
> (30 September 1932, at Belfast).

> I am an Orangeman to the heart, and always an Orangeman; and no matter what my position, I shall uphold the same standard that has brought me to the proud position in which you have placed me.
>
> (12 July 1933, at Castlereagh).

> All I boast of is that we are a Protestant Parliament and a Protestant State . . . I suppose I am as high up in the (Orange) Order as anyone, being Grand Master of loyal Co. Down, of which I am very proud. I prize that far more than being Prime Minister. I have often said that I am an Orangeman first and a member of Parliament afterwards. (He also added approval of Sir Basil Brooke's speech advising the boycott of Catholics in employment).
>
> (24 April 1934, at Stormont).

> It is our duty and privilege to see that we have servants of the most unimpeachable loyalty to the King and Constitution in carrying on a Protestant Government for a Protestant people.
>
> (21 November 1934, at Stormont).

> I hope, when the time comes, I will once again be returned as your leader to the inspiring sound of the Orange flute and the big drum.
>
> (12 July 1935, at Gilford).

As if the character and partisanship of the Government were not made clear enough by these official statements, an anti-Catholic boycott campaign was launched by members of the Government — especially against the employment of Catholics (who, according to the myth, are supposed to be entering Northern Ireland in their thousands). Sir Basil

Brooke, Minister for Agriculture, earned for himself the nickname of "Boycott" Brooke by his vehemence in encouraging this campaign. The following are a few of his pronouncements :—

Many in the audience employ Catholics ; but I have not one about my place. Catholics are out to destroy Ulster with all their might and power. They want to nullify the Protestant vote and take all they can out of Ulster and then see it go to hell.

(12 July 1933, at Newtownbutler).

In Northern Ireland the Roman Catholic population is increasing to a great extent . . . 97 per cent. of Roman Catholics in Ireland are disloyal and disruptive . . . If they in Ulster allow Roman Catholics from across the border to work in their farms, they are traitors to Ulster. (12 August 1933, at Enniskillen).

When I made that declaration on last "Twelfth," I did so after careful consideration. What I said was justified. I recommended people not to employ Roman Catholics, who were 99 per cent. disloyal. One paper admitted that 100 per cent. of Roman Catholics were Nationalists—and, therefore, out for the destruction of the Ulster Constitution. I was perfectly justified then, and what I said had nothing to do with a man's religion ; that is no concern of anybody's. But when that religion is so politically minded and is out to destroy us as a body, it does concern us then. I will continue to criticise and to take what action I can. (19 March 1934, at Derry) .

Sir Basil Brooke was only following in the footsteps of his predecessor in the Ministry for Agriculture, Sir E. M. Archdale, who on 31 March 1925 made the candid confession : "I have 109 officials and, as far as I know, there are four Roman Catholics, three of whom were Civil Servants turned over to me, whom I had to take when we began." Confining ourselves to the pronouncements of actual Ministers, we conclude with one made by Mr. J. M. Andrews, Minister for Labour, and with another made by Sir Joseph Davison, who is a kind of Minister without Portfolio for keeping the Government up to the mark in Protestantism (he is a County Grand Master of the Orange Order, its general spokesman and leader, a member of the Senate of Northern Ireland, and a D.L.) :—

Another allegation made against the Government, and which was untrue, was that of 31 porters at Stormont 28 were Roman Catholics. I have investigated the matter, and I have found that there are 30

Protestants and only one Roman Catholic—there only temporarily. It has also been stated that the two gate lodges at Stormont were occupied by Roman Catholics. The truth is that they are occupied by two Protestant disabled ex-servicemen.

(J. M. Andrews : 12 July 1933, at Finnebrogue).

When will the Protestant employers of Northern Ireland recognise their duty to their Protestant brothers and sisters and employ them to the exclusion of Roman Catholics ? It is time Protestant employers realised that, whenever a Roman Catholic is brought into employment, it means one Protestant vote less. It is our duty to pass the word along from this great demonstration, and I suggest the slogan should be : " Protestants, employ Protestants."

(Sir Joseph Davison : 26 August 1933, at Tanderagee).

The organised attacks on the pilgrims from Belfast to the great Eucharistic Congress of 1932 are well known. So also is the Ulster Hall incident of 1934, when the Catholic Truth Conference and the Eucharistic Congress Committee waived its undisputed right to the use of the Ulster Hall owing to the ugly state of tension created by the " protest " activities of the Ulster Protestant League. But this rabidly anti-Catholic organization, founded in 1931, calls for a few words. Its main activities include : (1) criticising the Government for its mildness towards Catholics ; (2) calling on the Minister for Home Affairs to resign—for the same reason ; (3) importing violently and viciously anti-Catholic lecturers ; (4) imposing a gangster-like coercion on shopkeepers and others to have no dealings with Catholics and to dismiss any Catholics in their employ ; (5) agitating for the dismissal of police " with names like Murphy and Flanagan " ; (6) protesting with bands and processions against any manifestation of Catholic life or ritual ; (7) going to every extreme to rouse anti-Catholic passions, which ultimately express themselves in burnings and slayings. In view of these activities of the Ulster Protestant League, the riots and shootings of 1935—which assumed an unprecedented violence and an international fame—are not surprising and need some description.

The first shot was fired on 13 April 1935, when a gunman made a murderous attack on James Madden, a Catholic publican of 313 York Street, Belfast ; and on April 23, some

shots were fired at a Catholic in Henry Street. But it was not until Monday, May 6 (Jubilee Day), that mob violence really began in earnest. From this date onward, apart from the injuries done to Catholics in their person and property, the " accompaniment " to the incidents was terrifying in the extreme. A main feature of the " accompaniment " was the wanton provocation of Catholics by disorderly crowds who, following bands playing " party " tunes, screamed insulting and unbelievably obscene expressions at any point from which they could be heard by Catholics. The principal " party " tune is " Dolly's Brae," whose oft-repeated line " Kick the Pope " invariably excites the coarse-minded into filthy and most provocative execrations of His Holiness. A crowd so worked up passes naturally and quickly from words to acts, if the proper object on which to explode its passion comes within its range. Such an object is a Catholic individual, a Catholic home or business, a Catholic institution or church.

Lest it be thought that I am over-stressing the disorderly conduct of " bands " and their followers, it must be remembered that these " bands " are a feature of every-day life in Belfast and that it has become habitual with them to expect " forbearance " from the police. " Forbearance " was the word used by Mr. G. B. Hanna, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Home Affairs, to describe the " official " behaviour of the police during the anti-Catholic riots. If the hooligan " bands " constitute an ever-present menace to Catholic life and property, the police are not to blame, but the Minister who does not give them the proper instructions and the necessary freedom of action. The courage of these " bands," like the courage of the bully, is in inverse proportion to the bluster. If they expected determined action, instead of weak-kneed forbearance, from the police, the Catholics of Belfast would have nothing to fear.

What Catholics have had to fear and endure is shown in the following brief diary of events from May 6 to July 15, 1935 :—

May 6.—Bands were playing all the evening ; shots were fired into the house of a Catholic ; another Catholic, a woman, was wounded

in Earl Street; windows in St. Joseph's Club (Dock Street) were smashed; in the early hours of the morning terror reigned in the Antrim Road area due to the activities of some 300 hooligans; fighting followed "band" activities at Peter's Hill.

May 9.—A Catholic was shot through the stomach in Nelson Street; another Catholic was savagely beaten in Henry Street; Catholic girls returning from work in mills were chased by a Protestant mob, which attempted to invade Pilot Street (a Catholic area); general intimidation of Catholic workers began openly; Catholic women workers were compelled to leave Linfield Mill owing to the hostile attitude of their Protestant fellow-workers and of the crowds in the street outside.

May 10.—Catholic workers were threatened and insulted on their way to work; a savage mob turned its attention to the Donegall Road area; owing to state of the city curfew was imposed.

May 23.—Mr. William Grant, M.P., was promised by the Minister for Home Affairs that, "if any member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary exceeded his duty," disciplinary action would be taken. The question arose out of a complaint that the police had acted too drastically in restraining rioters in Grove and Vere Streets (Protestant areas). It is unnecessary to remark that the police did not afterwards "exceed their duty," but acted with that "forbearance" for which they were commended by Lord Craigavon.

May 30.—Meeting of the Ulster Protestant League in Templemore Avenue, at which the speakers and the audience lustily "kicked" the Pope. After the meeting a rowdy "procession" of the usual type marched to the centre of the city, and from this "procession" a bomb was thrown into the Catholic area of Short Strand.

May 31.—Terror reigned in the York Street area. A band and "procession" from across town attempted to invade Lancaster, Marine and St. George's Streets—all Catholic areas.

June 12.—Meeting of the Ulster Protestant League at Queen's Square, at which fiery anti-Catholic speeches were delivered. After the meeting the usual procession took place to various parts of the city, and their route was marked by acts of gross hooliganism—particularly window-smashing.

June 16.—From 6 o'c. in the morning mobs were gathering, and there was heavy firing into Marine Street, Dock Street and other Catholic areas. Catholics proceeding to and from early Masses in St. Joseph's were fired at by snipers. On this morning occurred the dastardly shooting of the 15 year old Annie Quinn on her way to Mass. For this crime a non-Catholic received three months hard labour. He swore to an alibi and produced witnesses to that effect, but later pleaded guilty.

June 17.—This was the worst night of shooting since the beginnin of the trouble. Volley after volley was fired into the Catholic quarte of North Queen Street, wounding one man in the stomach. As result of urgent appeals from various sections of the citizens to pu a stop to the growing anarchy, the Government at last decided to tak action. On the following day the Minister for Home Affairs issue an Order prohibiting all "processions, other than funerals, and th assembly of any groups or bodies of persons in any public place withi the City of Belfast."

June 23.—Sir Joseph Davison, addressing an Orange gathering a Hillsborough, referred to the above Order thus : "You may be perfectl certain that, for the Twelfth of July Orange celebrations, we sha march through Northern Ireland. I do not acknowledge the righ of any Government, Northern or Imperial, to impose conditions a to the celebration of the glorious anniversary of the victory of th Boyne, nor shall I acknowledge any authority to ban the celebration which have been held almost continuously for 140 years. You ma be perfectly certain that on July 12th I shall be marching at the hea of the Orangemen of Belfast."

June 27.—Four days after Sir Joseph Davison's speech the Ministe for Home Affairs gave way to Orange truculence and removed th ban on processions. It was clear who were the real rulers of Norther Ireland. Wild scenes—shootings, burnings, evictions, window-smas ings, beatings—became the order of the day and the night. A stron appeal for peace by the Right Rev. Dr. MacNiece, Protestant Bisho of Belfast, had not the slightest effect.

July 12.—Before describing the events of this and the followin days, it is desirable to quote a passage from the Report made by M Ronald Kidd for the National Council of Civil Liberties (London This Council, of which he is the Secretary, sent Mr. Kidd to investigat the disturbances in Belfast. Arriving in time to witness those June 12, he reports thus :—

"At a riot on June 12—at which I was present—following a inflammatory meeting of the Ulster Protestant League at the Custom House steps, an unruly mob of some thousands of men and wome swept through the business quarter of the city. Men, not all of the sober, were dancing in the ranks and women were screaming as the marched. I pointed out to a constable that this was an illegal assembl at common law. The mob were getting out of hand ; and as the reached York Street, they ran completely amok. A bomb was throw into a shop ; shots were fired ; every window in the Labour Club wa broken ; and Catholic shop-windows along York Street were smashe in with stones and iron bolts. One arrest was made ; but the prison

was rescued by the mob. We are justified in asking (*a*) why this dangerous mob, which was visibly out for riot, was allowed by the police to proceed on its way ; (*b*) why nine armoured cars and hundreds of armed police were unable to effect even the one arrest which they attempted ; (*c*) why this force of armed police were unable to prevent wholesale riot and damage.

Government apologists begin any reference to the 1935 pogrom with some such statement as this : " The rioting began as a procession of Orangemen was, *on the 12th of July*, wending its way peacefully along a route prescribed by the City Commissioner of Police. It was attacked by Sinn Féin gunmen . . ." From the foregoing diary of events it is quite clear that the trouble began long before the " Twelfth." Though the lawlessness of the Protestant mobs grew worse and the sufferings of the Catholics increased in consequence after the " Twelfth," still our picture of the preceding two months, however meagre in its details, shows that the Government was guilty of either incomprehensible impotence or of criminal connivance. Whatever the explanation, it certainly did not preserve law and order. Willingly or unwillingly, it allowed the minority to be sacrificed to make a Roman holiday for the Ulster Protestant League and its ruffianly myrmidons.

Another form of government apology is to say that the troubles were confined to one small section of Belfast and that the victims were Protestants, while the Catholics were the aggressors. It is true that the majority of the killed were Protestants ; but there is no evidence whatever that they were killed by Catholics. Six of the seven were killed in the open when rioting was in full progress—none of them in his own home or in his own street. As to the seventh, there is good ground for believing that he was shot by non-Catholics for his sympathies with Catholics, with whom he was a great favourite in the district where he was shot. As to the Catholics, the facts are quite in contrast : apart from those killed, there were twelve deliberate attempts to murder Catholics, and in five of these cases the victims were inside their own homes. That none of the twelve is dead is no credit to the assailants.

But the number of the murdered is no measure of the sufferings to which Catholics were subjected. There was no security of life or property. Day and night the Catholics were in terror of raids, shootings, burnings, evictions. Let us take this last item. In all 514 families, comprising 2,241 persons, were driven from their homes. The following table of these evictions is sufficient to give the lie to those apologists who say that the trouble was confined to one section of Belfast :—

Parish	District	Houses	Families	Persons
St. Mary's ..	Central ..	18	24	116
St. Patrick's ..	Central ..	80	100	476
Holy Family ..	North ..	19	19	70
St. Peter's ..	West ..	25	33	93
St. Joseph's ..	East ..	116	140	586
Holy Cross ..	North ..	2	3	10
St. Malachy's ..	South ..	28	31	136
St. John's ..	West ..	52	62	303
St. Matthew's ..	East ..	35	45	204
St. Paul's ..	West ..	6	7	29
Sacred Heart ..	North ..	33	33	144
Holy Rosary ..	South ..	13	14	58
Whitehouse ..	N.E. Suburb	1	1	8
St. Brigid's ..	South ..	2	2	8

Of the 514 families in the above list, 431 were driven out by violently hostile mobs—often in the presence of the police ; 73 were burnt out ; and 10 left owing to threatening letters which they had received. In every parish of Belfast, except two, there were evictions. I have neither space nor inclination to dwell in detail on the disgraceful scenes which accompanied these evictions. It is easy to imagine the terror of women and girls—unprotected by the police—as they fled before howling and brutal mobs with the blood-lust upon them. Not all, unfortunately, escaped indignities and injuries by flight ; but on these I do not wish to dwell. The reader, however, may ask how the thousands of homeless and penniless

refugees were succoured. They were succoured by the Belfast Catholic Relief Committee under the able leadership of his Lordship Most Rev. Dr. Mageean, Bishop of Down and Connor. Were it not for the magnificent work of this Committee, the plight of the refugees would have been truly desperate.

Along with the eviction campaign went a campaign of violent intimidation and victimization of Catholic workers, who were driven out of employment and even sometimes robbed of their wages as they emerged from the factories. Take the case of Gallaher's tobacco factory, which has always refused to discriminate among its workers or to obey the dictates of the bigots who cry: "Protestants, employ only Protestants." On 19 July 1935, Catholic workers, when leaving this factory, were brutally attacked, and in several cases the wages of the girls were snatched from them. As the girls left the factory, informers pointed out the Catholics among them to the mob which had gathered outside for a conspired purpose. This was the signal for a concerted attack on the unfortunate girls. Many were felled to the ground, brutally kicked, and beaten about the head with umbrellas. The cries of the victims mingled with the exultant shouts of the attackers attracted more savage hooligans, who brandished knives and hatchets. Many girls received ugly wounds and had to be taken to hospital in an ambulance. What about the police? They arrived in a cage-car when the mob had wreaked its vengeance. On their approach the mob, like all cowardly bullies, sought safety in flight. No arrests were made. In any case, a conviction of a Protestant for an assault on a Catholic is not easy to obtain from a jury composed mainly of Protestants.

If the Government of Northern Ireland has been passive in the pogrom described in the foregoing pages, it has been active in other forms of discrimination against Catholics. Take the Education (Amendment) Act of 1930. By this Act Protestant schools are built and endowed out of public funds (to which, be it noted, Catholics contribute their share), while Catholic schools are deliberately victimized and made a burden on the Catholic population. By reason of agitation

from the Protestant Churches—or from the Orange Order, which claims the victory—an original secular Act was changed, so that the Protestant religion ("simple Bible teaching") should be taught in schools which accepted management by the State. When the Bill was passed, everyone was aware that it was directed against the Catholics. Now, Catholic children on the rolls in Northern Ireland schools represent 36 per cent., while the percentages for the other denominations are: Presbyterians, 32; Episcopalians, 26; Methodists, 3; Jews and others, 3. And yet look at the facts set forth in the following two columns, for which I am indebted to an article by a "Down and Connor Parish Priest" in the *Irish News* of February 2, 1933:—

Catholic Schools with Catholic Teachers under Catholic Control.	*Protestant Schools with Protestant Teachers under Protestant Control*
(1) Catholics must pay half the cost of building and equipping.	Protestants have the schools built and equipped at public cost.
(2) Catholics must pay the entire rent.	Public money pays the entire rent.
(3) Catholics must pay the entire cost of upkeep and repairs.	Public money pays the entire cost of upkeep and repairs.
(4) Catholics must pay the entire cost of improvements.	Public money pays the entire cost of improvements.
(5) Catholics must pay half the cost of alterations.	Public money pays the entire cost of alterations.
(6) Catholics must pay half the cost of heating and cleaning.	Public money pays the entire cost of lighting, heating and cleaning.

How are the teachers trained for these schools? The Protestants have Stranmillis College, built at a cost of £186,264 and maintained at a yearly cost of £22,000—all out of public funds. No such training college has been provided for the Catholics. Again, by the end of 1933, 85 new schools had been built by public grants of £700,000, while only £72,000 had been granted towards the building of Catholic schools—*i.e.* 90 per cent. of the public money expended on schools had gone to the Protestants, 10 per cent. to the Catholics,

although the figures for the school-children were : Catholics, 75,000 ; all others, 130,000. And yet Lord Craigavon boasted of the satisfaction with which his education system was received by all parties.

If the Catholics are so numerous a minority, readers outside Northern Ireland will naturally ask why they do not have their grievances redressed through their representatives in Parliament and Co. Councils. The pigmy State of Northern Ireland would be offended if it were called totalitarian ; but neither Russia nor Germany has much to teach it in the art of silencing a substantial minority. To use the 1926 census again—Catholics number 420,428 ; all others 836,133. The Northern House of Commons consists of 52 members. Of these Catholics ought to have representation through 17 members. Actually and as things are arranged, if every vote were polled, only 13 members could be elected in opposition to the dominant Protestant Party—and those 13 would include Labour. How is this " misrepresentation " engineered ? By the art or science of gerrymandering. For instance, in Belfast 33,000 Catholic votes elect one member, while 18,800 Protestant votes elect a member (in the case of two other members the discrepancy is not quite so marked) ; but in Fermanagh and Down the high-water mark of gerrymandering is attained. In Fermanagh a Catholic vote of 32,455 returns one member, whereas a Protestant vote of only 25,529 returns two members ; and in Down a Catholic vote of 63,588 returns two members, whereas a Protestant vote of 145,638 returns no less than six members. The British Act of 1920, which established the Northern Parliament, also established Proportional Representation as the method of election ; and under Proportional Representation the Catholics of Antrim, who number 38,619, could expect at least one member. But Lord Craigavon and his Party abolished Proportional Representation, and so Catholics have now no member in Antrim, while every 21,860 Protestants have a member.

Catholics might bear with a certain equanimity this " misrepresentation " in Parliament, if they had a voice in the local councils proportionate to their numbers. But here

also it is the same story of gerrymandering. For instance, in the Tyrone County Council each non-Catholic representative is elected by some 3,500 votes; but it takes 7,400 Catholic votes to elect a representative. The Urban Councils of Tyrone and Fermanagh tell the same monotonous story. Derry, on the other hand, believes in doing something really spectacular in this matter of gerrymandering. It has evolved a scheme by which 27,000 Catholics will elect only 8 members to the Corporation, while 18,000 Protestants will elect double that number—namely 16 members. In other words 8 : 27,000 : : 16 : 18,000—which is gerrymandering brought to a fine art.

Enough has been said to show the present position of Catholics in Northern Ireland. Is any redress possible? Of course there is, if the Northern Government wished to assert its authority and to mete out to Catholics their rightful measure of justice. The 1935 pogrom has been described. Why was there no recrudescence during the "Twelfth" celebrations of the present year? Because Catholic propaganda, which has not yet run its course, gave world-wide publicity to the 1935 pogrom, and because the British Government—which is ultimately responsible for order in Northern Ireland—is highly sensitive to international opinion. When the German Nazis were rebuked by English writers and politicians for their brutal intolerance, they did not fail to point a finger of scorn at Belfast and to sneer: *Medice, cura teipsum.* The difference of conditions in Belfast between 1935 and 1936 makes one thing clear: that there would have been no difference, if the Northern Government had wished to assert its authority in 1935, for there would have been no 1935 pogrom.

"NORTHMAN"

THE UNIVERSITIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES*

BY REV. AUBREY GWYNN, S.J.
Lecturer in Medieval History, University College, Dublin

THE appearance of a new and revised edition of Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* will be welcomed by scholars in many countries. The first edition, published as far back as 1895, has been out of print for many years, and those who were fortunate enough to possess a copy were uncomfortably aware that many of its chapters were badly in need of correction and revision, though only a specialist could afford to say confidently that this or that statement was correct or incorrect. Now that Professor Powicke and Mr. Emden have at last passed the final revision of their notes, and have seen the three volumes through the Oxford Press, we may look back for a moment over the history of a work that has been more than fifty years in the making. For it was as far back as 1883 that young Rashdall competed for the Chancellor's Prize at Oxford, sending in an English essay on the Universities of the Middle Ages, which was the first rough draft of his great work. Two years later, Denifle published what was planned as the first volume (though in fact it remained the sole volume) of his *Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters;* and within the next six years Denifle and Chatelain had jointly edited the first two folio volumes of their great *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*. Nor was this the sum total of Denifle's astounding activities during these years. In the *Archiv fur Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, which he and Father Ehrle (as he then was) were editing as a joint venture in historical research, Denifle published document after document from the archives of such characteristic Southern Universities as Bologna, Padua and Salamanca.

Meanwhile Rashdall was busily at work on his *History*,

* The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages. By the late Hastings Rashdall. A new edition in three volumes edited by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1936. 63s.

which was planned as a complete account of all the great European Universities of the Middle Ages. His debt to Denifle is, as every reader of the work knows, very great indeed; but it is mainly apparent in the first of the three volumes, in which Hastings was telling for English readers the story of the origins of Salerno, Bologna and Paris. In the first half of his second volume (Volume II. of the new edition) Rashdall is still largely dependent on the labours of the German Dominican friar, though he carries the story of the lesser Universities of Italy, Spain, France and Germany further down the course of medieval history than had been attempted by Denifle in the first volume of his *Entstehung*. In the second half of his second volume (Volume III. of the new edition) Rashdall could fairly claim that he was breaking new ground. For Denifle has devoted no more than twenty pages to the early history of Oxford, and Rashdall was inevitably drawn to a closer and more sympathetic study of the history of his own Alma Mater. Here, more than in any other portion of his work, Rashdall's conclusions have been allowed to stand as the accepted story of Oxford's origins, so far as the general reading public is concerned; and here, more than in any other portion of the new edition, the revision of his theories and conclusions is of special value. Professor Powicke has undertaken the task of revising the first two volumes. Mr. Emden, who is Principal of St. Edmund Hall and whose own history of that institution has thrown much light on the early history of Oxford's colleges, has been entrusted with the task of revising Rashdall's history of the medieval English Universities. Professor R. K. Hannay, of the University of Edinburgh, has done similar work on Rashdall's very much shorter section on the medieval Universities of Scotland; and the help of other experts has been sought in the revision of some of the more technical chapters. These names are of themselves a guarantee that the student can take down these three volumes from his shelf with the comfortable feeling that very little indeed will be lacking in the notes as a warning against some of Rashdall's looser statements or as a guide to his own studies.

What have been the main lines of progress since Rashdall published his work in 1895 ? We may begin with the problem which he discusses in his first chapter. What is the origin of our usage when we speak of a modern University ? Do our Universities owe their name to the fact that all subjects are taught in their classrooms, or at least that all the faculties are represented in their curriculum ? That is an old popular fallacy, against which Rashdall himself protests in his first edition. To the mediæval world *universitas*, like *collegium*, was a term which might be applied to any community, though it came finally to be applied in particular to the communities of masters and scholars of which our Universities are composed. Was there then any distinction between an ordinary *studium* and those homes of higher learning from which our older Universities are derived ? Denifle was the first to lay stress on the significance of the episcopal license (*licentia docendi*) which gave official standing to groups of masters whose first lectures seem to have been frequently no more than a private venture ; and modern research has confirmed Denifle's main conclusions. Even in Italy, where it has often been argued that the tradition of lay-scholarship was a survival from older times, it is at least probable that the schools of cities like Bologna and Padua were from the first placed under direct ecclesiastical control ; and there is no doubt at all that Bologna, like Paris and all the great northern Universities, owed its prosperity and influence to the continued favour of Popes and other ecclesiastical prelates. When Rashdall first wrote, this point was still hotly contested ; and the German historian, Kaufmann,was amassing all the evidence he could to prove his contention that many of the mediæval Universities owed their origin, not to Pope or Emperor, but to the favour and protection of the local sovereign. It is perhaps worth recalling Rashdall's vigorous defence of Denifle, at a time when Denifle's name was still a sign to be contradicted. "I am bound to say," he writes, "that Kaufmann's treatment of the subject is far more vitiated by an infusion of ideas suggested by the *Kulturkampf* than Denifle's is distorted by any desire to find support for those of the Syllabus." The

editors have let this characteristic note stand as Rashdall wrote it; but have added in brackets the date (1895) as a reminder of the controversies of a past generation.

The ecclesiastical character of the medieval Universities is indeed obvious to all who have studied their history; and must be explained by the general tendency to confound things temporal and spiritual which is one of the distinguishing marks of all medieval civilisation. *Sacerdotio imperio et studio tanquam tribus virtutibus . . . . sancta ecclesia catholica vivificatur augmentatur et regitur.* Rashdall opens his *History* with this quotation from an obscure German writer of the late thirteenth century. They are the words of a German patriot, and it will be seen how sharply the ecclesiastical element is defined. But it is also true that in the medieval world custom was often of equal importance with any official act; and Oxford is the outstanding example of a medieval University which grew to fame and international importance without any special privilege of the *licentia ubique docendi*, such as was granted by the Popes to Bologna and Paris and some less famous Universities. In the same way, many of the smaller *studia* remain no more than local schools, whilst others rise to importance for reasons which are sometimes difficult to determine. Kaufmann's thesis that the favour of a local sovereign was the deciding factor in winning recognition for a school as *studium generale*, the nearest medieval equivalent for our modern term University, is often true in practice. In Spain, for example, where the tradition of local autonomy has always been peculiarly strong, each kingdom had its own *studium*, recognised as such by royal favour as well as by local ecclesiastical approval. This characteristic of the Spanish Universities was obscured in Rashdall's treatment of their history, for he was anxious to determine the antiquity of each *studium* rather than its importance in relation to the kingdom of which it was the intellectual centre. The new editors have remedied this defect by altering the order of treatment in this section, and by adding notes which make it plain how close was the connection between the development of separate Spanish kingdoms and the organisation of the

older Spanish Universities. First Palencia, then Valladolid, was the *studium* of Castille; Salamanca was the *studium* of Leon; Huesca of Aragon; Lerida of the county of Barcelone; and both Lisbon and Coimbra, of Portugal. This strongly national character of the Spanish Universities is almost unique in the medieval world. Would the history of modern Spain have been less tragic, had the great Spanish monarchs of the sixteenth century been more conservative of local tradition?

Outside of Spain, national policy had little influence on the history of the more famous Universities. A *studium generale* was so called, not because all faculties were represented in the schools, but because students and masters came freely from all countries to a recognised centre of learning. Paris, of course (where civil law was not taught) is the supreme type of the international medieval University; and the registers and similar documents from other Universities published in the past quarter of a century illustrate very clearly the truly Catholic traditions of the medieval students. Masters and scholars went freely from country to country, and the idea of a National University, with a programme of studies organised mainly for local needs, is essentially a modern development; though the *studia generalia* of the fifteenth century are beginning to be organised on definitely national lines. It would be interesting to gather together the scattered records of Irish students on the continent in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For Ireland was without a medieval *studium generale*, and her students were compelled to wander far afield if they were to get in touch with the modern learning of their day. Traces of Irish students are common in Oxford (where they figure prominently in some of the student-fights as recorded from time to time) and at Paris; but recent research into the history of Irish medical scholarship suggests that much has yet to be learned about the connections between medieval Ireland and the Universities of Southern Europe. Strangely enough, the most remarkable name of an Irish student in an Italian University occurs in Naples, where the Emperor Frederick II. had organ-

ised a *studium generale* which (like so much else of that singular monarch's work) anticipates modern development by its strictly national character. The Emperor needed foreign masters for his new *studium ;* and among the masters who taught there was Peter of Ireland, who had the privilege of giving his first lessons in metaphysics to Thomas Aquinas. The conjunction of those two names is a curious commentary on Rashdall's sweeping statement that " Naples may possibly have been in its later days a not inefficient educational institution, but it has no place in the history of medieval thought."

It is indeed as a contribution to the history of medieval thought that Rashdall's work is most open to criticism. Even his modern editors, full of *pietas* though they are to a scholar whose work they are seeking to renew, admit in their Introduction that he was apt to lose sight of the essential in his love for the less important details of academic ritual and organisation. " Rashdall devoted most of his time to the things that do not matter," is a comment which they quote from one of their own helpers, and there is truth in the complaint. None the less, an institution as such has a life and history of its own, and Rashdall has all the true Englishman's love of institutional growth. He is at his best when he is describing the development of the *universitas* or guild of students at Bologna, of masters at Paris and Oxford ; and there is something strangly impressive in the continuity and vigour of these associations, flourishing most vigorously in the face of opposition, whether from king or bishop. That the masters and scholars of Paris should have been united in defence of their common rights to such an extent as to be willing to dissolve the schools and suspend all teaching for two years and more, is a remarkable instance of the solidarity which could be achieved on guild principles ; and the instance is all the more remarkable, since the quarrel between the University and Queen Blanche's ministers grew out of a riot in which the students themselves admitted that they had been drinking in an inn. It is less remarkable that the masters and scholars of Montpellier, where the southern type of uni

versity organisation prevailed, should have been as one in defence of their privileges, when there was question of importing wine free of duty for academic purposes. Rashdall gives interesting details also as to the care with which officers of the University were expected to watch over the book-trade of the *stationarii*, seeing to it that the students were not sold worthless copies of the *reportata* of lectures or other text-books. This is one of many points where modern research has extended our knowledge of medieval academic life. As manuscript after manuscript is examined in detail, the whole system of medieval book-production has come to be understood more fully; and it is plain that *reportata* of the most modern lectures were promptly available for ordinary use, and were produced by methods far more efficient than would at first seem probable—though the standardised efficiency of the modern printing press was, of course, impossible.

Another aspect of the guild system as applied to medieval academic life is emphasised by Rashdall in the chapter which he devotes to the origins of the famous quarrel between mendicants and the secular clergy at the University of Paris. Here again a great deal has been done to throw light on one of the central issues of medieval ecclesiastical life; and the principles at stake on both sides are more easily understood to-day. The secular clergy—who were in fact the true founders of the *studium*—were bound to defend those principles of common action on behalf of common interests which had been the very life of the *universitas* from the start. The friars claimed papal privileges; and the best justification of their claim for independent action is the extraordinary brilliance of their schools, so that the theological *studia* of the Dominicans and Franciscans soon threw the more conservative schools of the secular clergy into the shade. But the quarrel, which in its origins was a struggle for the assertion of strict guild principles against new papal privileges, soon came to be complicated by the deeper struggle between the older traditions of a conservative theology, with Saint Augustine as the supreme witness to Catholic traditions of philosophy and theology, and the new generation of inquiring scholars who looked to Aristotle

as the supreme philosopher. That struggle was hardly perceived when Rashdall wrote his three volumes forty years ago. To-day, thanks to the labours of scholars such as Ehrle, Mandonnet, Baeumke, Grabmann and a host of their followers, we can trace its long history through all the movements of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and we can see in its ebb and flow the varying fortunes of great opposing forces.

Rashdall was indeed ill-fitted to be the historian of that intellectual struggle, though he was anxious (against the better advice of some of his friends) to make his *History* in part at least a contribution to the history of medieval thought. Oxford has often been called a medieval University; but no one who has studied the works of medieval Oxford theologians will recognise much kinship of spirit between the modern Oxford don and his medieval predecessor. What Oxford has kept are the external observances which are so picturesque on special occasions, but which count for little or nothing in man's thought and vital interests. Rashdall, like many of his contemporaries, was intensely conservative in these external observances, and he will fill a chapter with the discussion of ceremonial details which can be reconstructed from the surviving documents of Oxford or Paris or Bologna. But the thought of men like Grosseteste and Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, Ockham, Bradwardine, Holcot, Wyclif, to name the outstanding thinkers of medieval Oxford, was too far removed from Rashdall's interests for him to be able to write of all this speculation with any real sympathy. And he wrote at a time when most of the manuscrupt literature was as yet unprinted. The past thirty or forty years have witnessed an astonishing revival of interest in medieval thought, and we are now able to see at least the main outlines of the story, with all its vicissitudes and the vigour of its personalities, its greatness and vitality as well as its declining powers and final extinction. By temperament Rashdall was a bold generaliser, and he was fond of sweeping assertions based on very scanty evidence. His modern editors have abandoned the task of re-writing this section of his *History*, and have contented themselves with a few bibliographical notes. They

have been wise in their decision, for the time has not yet come when it is possible to write a fully documented history of medieval philosophy and theology. It is well, however, to remind ourselves that the men who taught at Bologna or Paris or Oxford, at Prague or Cracow or Vienna, and the students who went from lecture to lecture were as conscious of a living interest in their studies as the students of any modern University.

This lack of sympathy with the intellectual side of his subject has led Rashdall to misunderstand the continuity of European academic life; and this is perhaps the most serious charge that can be brought against his work. Still strongly influenced by the older prejudice, which refused to see the vitality of medieval thought in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Rashdall takes the end of the fifteenth century as a sharp dividing line. So abrupt is the break which he thus makes in the living tradition of European learning, that he is forced to omit the foundation of Wittenberg in 1502, counting this apparently as a modern University, whilst Tubingen (1476), Upsala (1477), Aberdeen (1494) and Alcala (1499) are medieval. The mere catalogue of these names and dates is proof sufficient of the absurdity into which those are forced who seek to set arbitrary divisions in the continuous history of a great movement. And the prejudice which is apparent in the common statement that University life had declined to sheer pedantry by the time of Erasmus and Luther is largely due to this imperfect understanding of the later Middle Ages. Take the chief centres of the Catholic reaction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Salamanca was founded in the early thirteenth century; Coimbra a little later; Vienna in 1365; Louvain in 1425; Ingolstadt in 1459; and Alcala in 1499. Who is to draw a hard and fast line between these older medieval Universities and the Jesuit foundations of the following century? And have we yet fully understood the tradition of learning and critical thought which links Copernicus or Galileo with a thinker such as Nicholas of Oresme in the fourteenth century? Is there no vital connection between the voyages of Marco Polo in the thirteenth century and the

discoveries of Christopher Columbus two hundred years later? Are not the doctrines of Luther and Calvin foreshadowed, sometimes with astonishing precision, in the writings of Bradwardine and Wyclif? Where is the dividing line between Dante and Petrarch and Boccaccio and the later poets and scholars of the Italian Renaissance?

Rashdall's work was written by a man who was little troubled by these questions; and his achievement would have little permanent value, if it were to be estimated by his chapters on the medieval renaissance or by his inadequate account of Oxford's intellectual history. But institutions have a life of their own, which is independent of the men who live and die as fellows or students of a College or University; and there is no doubt at all that Rashdall was exceptionally well qualified to be the historian of the institutional side of medieval University life. Curiously enough, his favourite theory as to the historical origins of his own Alma Mater as a *studium generale* has met with little favour among scholars since his death. Basing his conclusions on some very slender evidence, Rashdall argued that Oxford came into being as a separate University in or about the year 1167, as a consequence of the quarrel between Henry II. of England and the French king, who was then supporting Thomas Becket. This view was propounded by Rashdall more than once in his lifetime, and was vigorously contested by other scholars. His modern editors have thought it more respectful to let Rashdall's account of early Oxford stand as he wrote it; but they have added in an appendix the full text of a most damaging criticism, published by Mr. A. F. Leach as far back as 1912. Rashdall's theory simply does not stand the test of scientific criticism, and we are left with the conclusion that Oxford, like so many other of the great medieval *studia*, grew from obscure beginnings to world-wide fame; and that her prestige as a *studium generale* was not due to the favour of any Pope or King.

Rashdall's analysis of the causes which led to a singularly independent academic government, and his account of the development of college life, both in Paris and in Oxford, still keeps its value, though the editors have been able to profit

here by the results of modern research. Those who associate the characteristic college life of Oxford and Cambridge with English Universities need to be reminded that Paris, not Oxford, was the first home of such institutions; and modern Louvain still shows traces of the same medieval form of organisation in many of her institutions, much as they have been changed by the new form of University created there in 1834. Paris has been cruel in her contempt for the past glories of her medieval schools; and the great avenue that now leads the visitor up the hill to the Pantheon is a poor substitute for the narrow streets that might have been a vivid reminder of the days when Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus and Durandus were names that excited the enthusiasm of as mixed a population as any modern University has ever seen. Oxford and Cambridge have been, so it would seem at first sight, less radical in their breach with medieval tradition; and we are all familiar with the picturesque survivals which are claimed as the proof that these modern Universities are still living in a remote and more romantic past. But, if you search for the convent where Duns Scotus and Ockham taught, you will find yourself wandering down squalid back-streets until you come to the modern gas-works; and you will then have to content yourself with an effort of imagination which sweeps away all these ugly nineteenth-century houses, and reconstructs a friary which was once a great centre of learning, the house in which Duns Scotus composed his *Opus Oxoniense*. Those who have read the story of the visitation under Henry VIII., when manuscripts of Duns Scotus were torn and scattered to the winds, will understand this tragedy of four centuries ago.

Cambridge has been no less radical in its breach with the past—though Rashdall would have his readers believe that Cambridge had few medieval traditions to cherish. "Up to the end of the fourteenth century," he writes, "Cambridge was a third-rate University . . . . Not a single schoolman can be shown to have taught at Cambridge; it is hard to produce the name, I will not say of a great man, but of a prominent ecclesiastic who studied at Cambridge before the middle of the fourteenth century." The modern editors have

done their best to mitigate this sweeping verdict by quoting in a foot-note some few names of famous men who either taught or studied at Cambridge. Duns Scotus, so we now know, studied for a time at Cambridge, though his fame rests on his achievements at Oxford. Robert Holcot, one of the leading Dominican theologians of the following generation, taught for a time there, though once again his reputation rests in great part on work done at Oxford, where he was in charge of the Dominican *studium* for many years. Rashdall's judgment is thus not far from the truth; but in their institutional life and in the common tradition of scholastic learning, Cambridge and Oxford are almost indistinguishable. As in so much else, they are alike in the violence with which both Universities sought to stamp out the influence of the monks and friars in the sixteenth century. The present writer has a memory of some hours spent in the library of Sidney Sussex, the Cambridge home of Oliver Cromwell. As it happened, I had come to the library in search of a manuscript which contained some curious information as to the bitter struggle between seculars and regulars in the fourteenth century; and I found, as I studied the manuscript in detail, that the texts which it contained were the records of an Oxford prelate's activities as champion of the secular clergy against the friars. But the texts had been copied by a Cambridge scholar, a fellow of Peterhouse in the early fifteenth century. I commented on this fact to the hospitable librarian who had seen to my comfort during my hours of study, and his answer still remains in my memory. "Look out on that garden," he said to me; and I saw through his windows one of the finest of the Cambridge gardens. The garden, so he told me, had once been the site of the Franciscan friary at Cambridge—the *studium* where Duns Scotus had spent some time as a student of theology. To-day, not a trace of the building has been left above ground; and I was told by my friendly host that the last stones of the convent had been built into the great quadrangle of Trinity College in the seventeenth century. So perished the last visible remains of a great tradition.

AUBREY GWYNN

AN APPROACH TO CHINESE ART

BY THOMAS BODKIN, D.LITT.

Professor of the First Arts and Director of the Barber Institute
in the University of Birmingham

NO European can approach the subject of Chinese art otherwise than humbly and tentatively. Between the Chinese and ourselves there stand vast barriers of race, distance, language, tradition and sensibility; many of which must prove impassable to even the most adventurous spirit. The best we can hope to do is to reach some of those barriers, to recognise them lest we run our heads against them, and perhaps to peer over them at the wonderland which lies beyond.

Before we can begin even to look at the masterpieces of Chinese art, we should do well to excite and gratify, as far as possible, our curiosity about the Chinese themselves—their religion, their history, their civilisation, their poetry, and the manner of their daily life. Such investigations will not prove futile, for the graphic and plastic arts of China are permeated in a unique and most intimate degree with the racial spirit of the Chinese people.

The average European has only recently abandoned his conception of the 'Chinaman' as a figure of fun, a quaint, trivial, irresponsible, comic-opera personage. When the influence of Chinese art first began to make itself felt in Europe towards the close of the eighteenth century, it was invariably perverted by European artists and craftsmen to capricious, fashionable ends. The chinoiseries of Boucher and Huet in France, of Sir William Chambers and Chippendale in England have a toy-like quality, as alien as anything could well be from the profound spiritual significance which informs almost the entire product of the Chinese artist. It is only quite lately that the European has paused to consider whether the Chinese may not have some justification for the profound contempt which he generally feels for the abrupt manners, gestures and garments of the "foreign devil."

The basic scientific facts about China and the Chinese are all extraordinarily impressive. The area of the eighteen provinces alone is no less than one and a half million square miles. The Chinese for ages past have also dominated Mongolia, Manchuria, Eastern Turkestan and Tibet. The last official population census of China proper, taken in 1902, showed that the Chinese constitute more than a fifth of the total population of the world. Their civilisation has endured in unbroken sequence for over forty centuries. These facts are, in themselves, enough to show us that the Chinese are not a people whose achievements can be lightly dismissed or easily appraised.

The Chinese have never set much store on analytical enquiry or scientific curiosity. That divine discontent which Europe, as a whole, inherits from ancient Greece, has never troubled them. Their attitude to life is quiescent and matter-of-fact rather than adventurous. Yet it must not be forgotten that, almost casually, they have anticipated many of our most vaunted modern inventions. In the third century they were making porcelain. In the fourth they had discovered gun-powder and were driving around in taxi-carriages. In the seventh they had noted the significance of finger-prints for the purpose of personal identification. In the ninth they had devised a complex system of trade by means of bills of exchange. In the twelfth they were using paper money according to sound economic principles. The printing press was operating in China when Europe was only just emerging from barbarism.

Religion, in the full sense of the word, has never had much hold on the Chinese. The only formal religion which they have ever practised extensively is Buddhism, which was introduced into China from India about the second century. It has had for a long time a potent influence upon the development of Chinese art. But Chinese Buddhism gradually became so deeply overlaid with the practices of Taoism that at the present day, to quote the somewhat cryptic saying of Professor Giles, " only those who know can tell one from the other " : and neither cult is commonly observed.

Tao originally meant " the way " and the word was used to describe the doctrine of Lao Tzu, " the Old Philosopher," who flourished some six hundred years before the Christian era. His teaching was designed to establish a rule of moral conduct ; and his code, which had little or no religious sanction to back it, was one of extraordinary nobility. Centuries before the coming of our Lord, Lao Tzu taught his countrymen in such sayings as these : " Mighty is he who conquers himself " ; " Keep behind and you shall be put in front " ; " Recompense injury with kindness." These, as we know on higher Authority, are hard sayings. His countrymen soon mitigated them considerably under the influence of Confucius who lived about a century later, is known to the Chinese as " the uncrowned king," and has been raised to the rank of a god. But Confucius, who is said by some to have been an agnostic, had no higher aim than to impose traditions of dignity, order, and comely behaviour upon mankind. He was most clearly aware of the usual limitations of humanity and refused to teach his disciples to return good for evil, declaring unhesitatingly that evil should be met by justice. His ideal was the good citizen, " the superior man." He inculcated the importance of fine manners and ceremonial in a system of ethics based on the traditional worship of ancestors. As might be expected, he had a profound regard for art, literature and learning.

His followers gradually came to lay far too much stress upon mere respect for age and formality ; and to Confucius we can trace the Chinese taste for extreme conservativism and an irrational insistence upon the value of ritual. There is nothing the Chinese value more than what we call respectability. The loss of goods, and loss of life itself, counts less than the " loss of face," in other words, the loss of prestige or personal dignity.

Insistence upon the importance of form and ceremony usually breeds superstition ; and the Chinese afford no exception to this rule. Geomancy has always flourished in China. The famous " wind-and-water system " has exercised a potent influence upon their national and social life. They

have a large corpus of literature explaining the principles upon which good or evil fortune is determined by various physical aspects and conditions. The orientation of a Chinese house is a matter for deep consideration. If the fortunes of a family are failing, a wise man will surely be invited, and handsomely paid, to suggest some modification of its arrangement or design, or of the lay-out of the ancestral graveyard. Just outside the front door of many Chinese dwellings is a fixed screen which forces the visitor to turn to right or left and bars out evil spirits who can only move in straight lines.

In the universal Chinese practice of ancestor worship all their cults and superstitions converge. The spirits of the dead are believed to remain watching over the material interests of the family. The reputation of his ancestors is at least as important to the Chinese as the welfare of his descendants. When he achieves ennoblement the honour does not pass forward to his children, but back to his forebears. The family, not the individual, is the social unit that makes up the sum total of the national civilisation.

For over two thousand years, until the proclamation of the Republic at the beginning of the present century, the Chinese system of government remained the same in all essentials. Nominally it was an irresponsible autocracy exercised by the Emperor; but in operation it was essentially democratic. The three estates of the realm were classified by Mencius as, first, the living people; second, their ancestors; and, third, the emperor. Both Mencius and Confucius taught that the people had a right to put an evil ruler to death and that it was not treasonable to proclaim this principle in public.

The finance of the state was based on the theory that all land was owned by the emperor and held in consideration of a rent paid to him. So long as this tax was forthcoming, the land in question was practically freehold and could be passed by sale without restraint. Other taxes have been instituted from time to time, but always by general consent; for the imposition of an unjust or unpopular tax was met at once by a general strike, which the marvellous mutual loyalty of the citizens made instantly effective.

In China the career has from time immemorial been open to the talents. The slightest sign of ability noticed in a boy of the poorest origin procured him training and tuition to fit him as a candidate for the great triennial examinations at Peking, through which alone entry could be made into the service of the State, where he might hope to rise to the highest ministerial rank. Europe for ages has mocked this method of recruiting public officials ; yet in our own time most European countries, and England in particular, have become persuaded of its efficacy and adopted it as their own practice.

The Chinese legal code gives every citizen a direct personal interest in the maintenance of order. In our own country a man has no remedy for assault, however aggravated, unless he can identify his assailant. In China all the injured party has to do is to point out the district, village or town in which he was assaulted. The local headman is then summoned before the authorities and made pay fine and compensation which he, in turn, takes good care to levy from the criminal, if he can be discovered or, if not, from the local inhabitants.

The stability of Chinese institutions, the noble nature of their social order, the breadth of their intellectual culture all go to explain the extraordinary capacity which the race has always had for assimilating foreign elements intruded into their body politic. Though they have been conquered at various periods by Tartars, by Mongols and by Manchus, we invariably find that the descendants of the barbarian conquerors soon evolve into cultivated Chinese gentlemen, writing poems, painting pictures, collecting jade and sharing the aspirations and ideals of the vanquished race who remain victors in everything that matters. The Irish, in that respect at least, resemble the Chinese. Already in the fourteenth century we find the Lord Deputy complaining that the English invaders had become *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores.*

Most aesthetic philosophers since Kant agree in holding that morality has no more intimate connection with art than it has with mathematics. No one has more ably and earnestly stressed the amoral character of art than the late Roger Fry. Yet he rightly points out that " the finest qualities of design

can never be appropriated to the expression of morbid and perverted ideas; nobility and geniality of design are attained only by those who, whatever their actual temperament, cherish these qualities in their imagination." Now, the standard of morality in China is and has always been high. Their commercial probity is proverbial, their sense of gratitude unfailing, their capacity for friendship unbounded. They are not a passionate people; and the romantic love of man and woman which Western nations delight to glorify is little known among them. Yet their respect for women is profound and constant. The Chinese woman wields great influence over her family as is shown by their proverb: "A man knows, but a woman knows better." It is remarkable that in the whole vast range of Chinese art there is not to be found a tinge of eroticism; and one of the greatest authorities of their literature has written: "Chinese poetry may be searched in vain for suggestions of impropriety or for sly innuendo or the other tricks of the unclean."

The beliefs, the aspirations, the social virtues and faults of any free nation are best reflected in the art which it produces. A people generally has the art which it deserves. So, as we might expect, we find that the Chinese have produced an art of extraordinary sensibility and refinement, charged full with subtle symbolism and allusion; highly stylised in technique and traditional in subject matter. It is never grandiose nor passionate. There is no epic in their literature and no great building in their architecture. They have never erected anything comparable to the Taj Mahal, the Ankor Vat, the Parthenon, the Egytian temple or the Gothic cathedral. They are not great individualists. Their aim would seem to be less the production of what is striking than the avoidance of what is commonplace. Art is for them far more a means of escape from the stress and tedium of daily life than a method of self-assertion. Their lack of interest in science prevents them from being experimenters. They have never produced a Euclid or an Archimedes, and so have no particular respect for the scientific ideal of symmetry.

The European outlook is so influenced by the Greek spirit

that we find it very hard to appreciate the essential difference of our artistic reactions to visible nature from those of the Chinese. The Greek aptitude for doubt and curiosity continually pushes all who are influenced by it into analytical inquiry and scientific observation. Our artists strive not merely to suggest the real objects they represent, but to describe them accurately and completely. They aim at continuity and solidity of texture in order to describe accurately and to create an imagery in which all the relations of every part cohere, not only according to aesthetic demands but also according to the laws which regulate the visual perception of real objects. Hence their preoccupation with perspective and chiaroscuro. Hence their desire to leave out nothing about which the spectator might seek for information. The Chinese, on the contrary, are content to hint, to suggest, to select. The Chinese painter sees no necessity to cover the whole ground of his painting. The spaces he leaves empty are almost as significant as those which he fills. He demands almost as much from the spectator as he gives.

Whatever may be the road along which the traveller approaches the study of Chinese art, he comes in the end to the one entrance gate, which is calligraphy. The Chinese have a unique monosyllabic language written in ideographs to which they attach a sacred importance. A piece of paper on which a single word has once been written or printed may never be desecrated by being tossed about or trampled underfoot. Recognising the extraordinary results which have been brought about by the operation of written symbols, the Chinese invest them with an honour which approximates to worship. The oldest thing we know of in China, as old as any archæological object, going back for nearly forty centuries, is their ideographic script. It has been the chief agent in forming and fixing their culture. Originally there appear to have been about five hundred radical characters, pictographs which could be combined into an ideograph to express almost any notion. Nowadays it is impossible to recognise in Chinese characters their original pictorial quality, and four main styles of formal script—the

seal style, the official style, the printing style and the grass style—have been evolved. But each character remains far more than a symbol. To the Chinese mind it is a finely organised graphic form invested with dynamic power, a sort of gesture made permanent. A string of characters transcribed by a master calligraphist can be made to reinforce the literal meaning of the sounds they stand for with a potency of which we can have no conception. Thus a phrase referring to thunder and lightning, slashed on silk or paper by a Chinese scribe, takes on some of the terror and majesty of the image, which a skilled rhetorician might strive in vain to convey by emphasis of speech.

The Chinese regard calligraphy and painting as supplemental, almost inseparable arts. They rank them in a category apart, far above all the plastic arts. They will hang a fine piece of script upon a wall just as we hang a picture. In their opinion pictures should be read as a kind of language, and the highest praise they can give a painter is to say that his pictures are poems. Wang Ch'ien declares that " painting is not worthy of the name until it has had social intercourse with poetry and essays, and distils a pervading ' smell of books.' "

Chinese pictorial art contains a far greater number of purely arbitrary elements than does the pictorial art of Europe. These must be appreciated, if not understood, before Chinese painting becomes a vehicle of communication. The Chinese are not in the least interested in painting as a process of recording facts ; and there does not seem to be a single important painting of theirs extant which can be called an approximate representation of an actual scene or person.

Mr. Chang Wee, himself a painter, who has just published an interesting book entitled *The Chinese Eye*, illustrates the fundamental difference between our art and theirs by asking us to imagine a painting of two swallows fluttering about a window hung with flowers. On it is inscribed a couple of lines from a poem by Tang Huan Yin :

> Swallows are unacquainted with grief,
> They seem to wander about the pavilion on purpose
> with a few petals in their beaks."

To the Chinese spectator this picture would immediately suggest thoughts of a friend or lover in exile rather than the sensuous charm of swallows in flight or the aesthetic relations between curving motion and angular fixed form.

Symbolism plays an enormous part in Chinese painting. A bamboo will be depicted rather because it symbolises noble character than for the intrinsic loveliness of its form. The pine stands for truth of speech and longevity. The peach typifies immortality. A pair of Mandarin ducks are the symbol of faithfulness in love. The snow, the moon, the plum blossom, the pine and the bamboo are "the five pure things." "The three friends in winter" are the pine, the bamboo and the plum tree; because the first two are evergreen and the third blossoms on the eve of Spring. The dragon is the emblem of the dawn, of Spring, and the coming of good fortune. It symbolises the East, and its ritual colour is blue. The phœnix is the emblem of the South and Summer and is associated with the colour red. The tiger represents material force, the West, and Autumn. The tortoise stands for the North and Winter.

The Chinese painter is almost exclusively preoccupied with landscape. Herded in vast cities, his countrymen love to seek refuge in wild and solitary places from the griefs and trials of workaday existence. Their significant term for landscape is "mountain-and-water-scene." William Blake's lines

> "Great things are done when men and mountains meet.
> These are not done by jostling in the street."

would always find an echo in the Chinese mind.

Our own philosophy of life generally postulates some opposition between man and nature. The achievements, the desires, the glory and the suffering of man have been the main concern of European pictorial art. We had to wait till the sixteenth century for Giorgione's great landscape "The Tempest," and even then the painter felt bound to justify his choice of theme by the inclusion of human figures to illustrate the story of Adrastus and Hypsipyle. When Claude paints a broad expanse of meadow and river at noonday, he

feels bound to people it with little figures of Juno confiding Io to the care of Argus, or with other actors in some such classic story.

In China we find little or nothing of this spirit. The Chinese cultivate instead, as Mr. Laurence Binyon has well said, " the thoughts that lead us out from ourselves into the universal life, hints of the infinite, whispers from secret sources —mountains, water, mists, flowering trees, whatever tells of power and presences mightier than ourselves : these are the themes dwelt upon, cherished, and preferred." When Wang Wei, a famous poet and painter of the eighth century, had his portrait painted by a friend, he chose to be represented with his back to the spectator, sitting in a chair, contemplating a landscape. We have thus, as it were, a picture of his mind rather than of his features ; and that is typical of the Chinese outlook.

There has never been a school of pictorial art so fettered by the trammels of convention as is the Chinese. The Chinese artist may only paint recognised subjects in one of the authorised ways. A painter who dared to exhibit a novel subject would probably be told coldly by his colleagues that there was no such theme. Tung Chi Chang, a great authority, declared : " It has been said that in tree-painting one is free to make one's own style. Nothing could be more untrue ! For willow trees Chao Po Chu is the standard ; for pines Ma Ho Chi ; for withered trees Li Cheng. . . . The prime essential is that the painter should imitate the Old Masters." There are sixteen authorised ways, but only sixteen, for painting mountains.

The professional painter is scarcely recognised as such in China. The cultivated man is expected to practise painting as one of many hobbies or accomplishments. The ranks of famous Chinese painters teem with high officials—governors of provinces, presidents of the Board of Rites, High Court Judges, generals of the Imperial Army. Skill in painting was regarded as an important official qualification. The emperors themselves were often remarkable painters ; and one at least of them, the ill-fated Hui-Tsung of the Sung dynasty,

is included in the hierarchy of Great Masters. He it was who, in the twelfth century, made painting an essential subject for the civil service candidates.

The limitations of Chinese pictorial technique are exceedingly drastic. The artist paints exclusively on a kind of absorbent paper or on silk with watery ink. He uses colour rarely and with great reticence. He makes no effort to suggest modelling by means of shadows. Squatting or kneeling above his picture, which is laid either on the floor or on a low table, he works with a brush held upright and moved from the shoulder, not from the wrist. Owing to the nature of his materials, he must paint with extreme rapidity and sureness. His ideal brush-work is abrupt and forcible rather than elegant. The cursive beauty of European calligraphy is abhorrent to Chinese taste.

The position in which the Chinese painter works makes it impossible for him to use a model or to paint directly from nature. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons why his interest in the human form as a subject for his art has always been slight. The image which he desires to render must be completely memorised before he sets brush to paper. When the poet Tu Fu said that it should take ten days to paint a rock and five days to paint a stream, he did not mean that the work of execution was such a lengthy business, but rather that the detailed conception of the theme called for prolonged meditation.

The Chinese painter must acquire, early in life, ability to recognise promptly thousands of complicated ideographs, and so he develops an extraordinarily acute visual perception and becomes capable of recognising the slightest deviations from normal outlines. Because his art is an art of contours rather than of masses, and because of the fluid nature of his pigment, he can develop an individual touch far more easily than can the European painter who works usually with thick, dragging oil paint. This very facility has its dangers, and Chinese artists and critics are certainly apt to lay undue stress upon mere manual dexterity.

Native writers record with pride such ridiculous anecdotes

as the following, told of Wang Hsia: "When he was drunk, he used to dip his head in a pail of ink and flop it on to the painting silk. . . . Having dabbled the picture with a great mass of ink, he would sometimes kick it, rub it, and smudge it, till a sunset or rainstorm appeared and no trace of the first spilling was left." We read of Chen Jung that, "when excited by wine, he would give a great shout and, seizing his cap, use it as a painting brush." He sometimes painted mists by a process of spitting ink; yet we are told that the result was "always of marvellous beauty." Chang Tsao, a painter of the Tang dynasty, was famous for painting with his fingers instead of with the brush, and so was Kao Chi Pei who lived nearly a thousand years later. These do not seem to us to be tricks in which a great artist is entitled to take legitimate pride. They smack more of the music-hall performer. It is noteworthy that even the authorities of the British Museum consider it proper to record on their labels that a particular Chinese picture has been painted with the artist's fingers, as if that fact conferred on it an additional distinction.

Degas once asked: "Are not all lovely things made of renunciation?" No artists, as a class, have ever been more resolute in renunciation than have the Chinese. Yet we Europeans must often wonder whether the pictorial art which avoids the aids of colour and modelling has not thrown away advantages far more important than those which it has acquired by the practice of a most fastidious subtlety. European artists have undoubtedly a tendency to exhaust possibilities which sometimes leads them into a vulgar exuberance. They also tend to attach a spurious kind of moral value to laborious finish. Chinese artists on the other hand, by a too intensive process of selection and a too dexterous technique, often seem to lapse into a sterile refinement.

The rapid monochrome drawings of the greatest Europeans Rembrandt's quill drawings in particular, have an economical power of suggestion, a vivid individuality of handling, which rivals successfully the best Chinese work. There is nothing in the whole range of Chinese pictorial art which can be com

pared with any great European masterpiece in colour—for example, with Veronese's "Marriage Feast at Cana." Neither is there anything in Chinese painting comparable to the dynamic force, the majesty, the ardour, which flow from such a composition as Michael Angelo's Jonah.

Chinese paintings are divisible into three classes: small paintings for albums or fans, about a foot square; large rectangular paintings to hang perpendicularly on the wall; and scroll paintings, which are generally less than a foot in height and sometimes extend to forty feet in length. The scroll paintings have no parallel in European art—except possibly, the Bayeux Tapestry and the Westminster Tournament Roll. They are not intended to be viewed as a whole. Their themes, like musical or literary themes, are continuous. They are meant to be read, as it were, bit by bit, in a steady progression from right to left of the spectator, who unrolls only a small section at a time. Consequently the artist must beware of intruding a check or stop at any stage of his composition. The part seen at a particular moment must excite expectant interest in the part which is to come.

Some of these scroll paintings go back to very early times. The earliest which critics generally agree to be authentic is that of the "Admonitions of the Instructress of the Palace," which is now in the British Museum. It is held to be by Ku Kai Chih, a painter of the later Han Dynasty, who flourished about the third century: and it is more episodic than continuous in scheme. The most famous and beautiful of all these scrolls is that of the "Thousand Miles of the Yellow River," which was lent lately to England from the Imperial Museum at Peiping. It is probably the greatest single achievement in Chinese art. Its painter, Hsia Kuei, who lived in the thirteenth century, planned to show the course of a mighty river from its source to its mouth: the stream bursting in turmoil from the recesses of a distant range of mountains, pouring through rocky gorges in swirling rapids, swollen by tributaries as it gradually reaches inhabited country, bearing onward pleasure boats and trading vessels past temples and the quays of great walled cities, and finally

emerging in a broad calm estuary where a few little feathery junks ply slowly on their lawful occasions below a line of lofty hills diminishing in fold after fold along the coast towards the horizon. The painter has succeeded in conveying a conception of the elemental forces of moving water with a lyric power which not even Shelley himself has equalled with his vision of Arethusa rushing from her bed of snows in the Acroceraunian mountains on her long journey to join her lover Alpheus in the Aegean.

No part of the province of the art historian is so strewn with pitfalls as is the field of Chinese pictorial art. Its products have never developed in the evolutionary sense and therefore cannot be classified in chronological sequence. The Chinese respect for antiquity is so inordinate that many of the best Ming and Ching dynasty painters worked habitually in Tang and Sung styles. For at least a thousand years the Chinese have cultivated a genius for forgery, producing copies so exact and so meritorious intrinsically that the determination of their authorship or authenticity is matter rather for the detective or the archæologist than for the critic working on aesthetic connections. The catalogue of the Chinese exhibition at Burlington House contained many astonishing instances of wide divergences about dates and names between recognised authorities.

Next to fine specimens of calligraphy or of painting Chinese collectors covet carvings in jade. They have a saying that jade is the quintessence of heaven and earth fused together; and from the earliest days of their civilisation it has served them as a symbol of immortality. Jade objects may be divided roughly into three classes: ritual and magical jades; articles of utility, such as seals, dishes and buckles; and ornamental jades, such as slabs engraved with poems, vases, statuettes and miniature mountains. The Chinese respect for the precious material is well illustrated by the story of the Ming emperor who, having purchased a fine block of white jade flecked with emerald green markings, sent for his court carver and said: "Fashion this into a dragon battling with two dogs of Fo." The sculptor, turning the block about

in his hands, remonstrated with the emperor: "Oh, Sire, surely you can see therein four silver carp swimming through green weeds in the lake of the Forbidden City." The emperor could not, nor could any of his courtiers; but he gave the carver his head and, after two years, that artist returned, bringing the stone minutely carved and exquisitely polished in the semblance of four silver carp swimming through the green weed. With it he brought just enough dust to cover a coin, all that he had removed from the original block in the process of his work.

The Chinese have always considered sculpture to be the work of artisans rather than of artists, and they do not even trouble to record the names of their sculptors. But European critics find in Chinese sculpture a noble plastic power and a strong individual feeling for subtle linear rhythms. The Chinese sculptor seems to have retained from primeval times a peculiar, almost instinctive, understanding of animal forms. Certain little bronzes of the Chou and Ching dynasties, made about three thousand years ago, remain among the most perfect works of their sort that mankind has produced.

The introduction of Buddhism into China brought about an impulse to represent the human form. The actual types and poses of Buddhist imagery were first adopted from Indo-Greek originals, and the sculptor's preoccupation with a strictly religious and ritualistic end cramped the development of his art. Yet among the innumerable works of Buddhist sculpture which the Chinese have produced, during the course of the past seventeen hundred years, are many which represent an idealised human form, often on a colossal scale, with a serene simplicity and an intensity which recalls the finest statues of archaic Greece. The great pottery figures of the Tang and Ming dynasties should be considered rather as sculpture than as ceramic. The famous life-sized Tang Lohans in the British and Pennsylvania Museums and the Ming figure of the Judge of Hell in the British Museum recall, if only by their size and accomplishment, the works of the Della Robbia family in fifteenth century Florence. Much admiration is also due to certain statues in wood, dating from

the Sung dynasties, representing Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, in the traditional " attitude of royal ease." The last great manifestation of Chinese sculpture is the series of colossal figures in stone of warriors and animals which flank the avenue leading to the Ming tombs outside Peiping.

Until the late nineteenth century the art of China was best known to Europe through the wares which Europeans have always agreed to call " china." The potter's wheel was evidently used by the Chinese from about the year 3000 B.C. Though the Egyptians and the Minoans had discovered it earlier, the Chinese employed it to better purpose. The wares made in China before the time of the Christian era are too often passed over as being merely of ethnographical interest. Certain unglazed ash-grey pots of the Chou dynasty have aesthetic qualities of a high order, though their technique is primitive. In the succeeding Han dynasty the process of glazing was discovered, and we find green and brown glazed ware derived from bronze prototypes which, in their massive and noble forms, already display the beauty of contour which characterises Chinese ceramics down to the time of decadence in the eighteenth century. In the Han dynasty, too, the art of figure modelling in pottery originated--an art in which the Chinese have never been surpassed. The famous Tang tomb figures show the potters working with complete mastery of their craft. These figures were entirely unknown in Europe fifty years ago. They were not made for ornamental purposes. The early Chinese, like the Chaldeans of Ur, were accustomed to slay wives, servants and animals and bury them in the graves of their chieftains, to accompany and serve them in the other world. Confucius condemned this custom of immolation ; and with the general adoption of his ideals, pottery statuettes were gradually substituted for living creatures. These figures of wives, concubines, serving maids, retainers, warriors, demons, horses, camels and cattle may really be considered as part of the Chinese undertaker's paraphernalia. Despite their power and distinction, perhaps even because of their extreme naturalism, the Chinese themselves do not seem to regard them with that respect which is accorded to them by Europeans.

Somewhere between the Han and Tang dynasties, that is to say, between the third and seventh centuries, the Chinese invented, apparently almost by accident, porcelain as distinct from pottery. The two component ingredients in the making of both porcelain and pottery are the body of baked clay and the applied metallic glaze. When the clay is compounded with kaolin (a fine white earth) and fired at a very high temperature, body and glaze become incorporated together into a semi-transparent substance, which we know as porcelain. Though it was already an article of foreign trade in the ninth century, the potters of the Sung dynasty, which lasted down to 1279, continued to devote their energies mainly to wares which were more in the nature of pottery than porcelain, specialising in coloured glazes of extraordinary refinement, with a silky gloss which appeals almost as much to the fingers as to the eyes. Sung glazes in subtle shades of grey tinged with blue or green, pale lavender, mottled crimsons and cool purples, creamy whites, black shot with golden brown, are of undeniable beauty. Yet perhaps they are rated a little too highly by modern experts: for they owe their quality rather to the chances of the kiln than to human agency, and are displayed on shapes which, though essentially dignified, too often lack vitality. The sober Sung wares are all the fashion at the moment with experts and collectors; yet the popular taste which prefers the porcelain of the Ming dynasty is probably sounder.

Ming is the great period of pictorial porcelain. The Ming emperors fostered the ceramic industry in all ways possible. At Cheng-te Chen they founded an imperial factory which, with its subsidiaries, at one time gave employment to a million people. The taste for sumptuous colour, starved in Chinese pictorial art, was gratified to the full in the later Chinese porcelains. There we find crimsons ranging from ruby to the renowned sang de boeuf, apple-greens and aubergine yellows, blues made from cobalt deepening in tone from the "blue of the sky after rain" through turquoise into violet. These were applied to dishes and vases

of irreproachable form by some of the best painters of the day ; and their greatest achievements have never since been equalled.

In the succeeding Ching dynasty, under three famous emperors, Kang Hsi, Yung Cheng, and Chien Lung, each of whom gave his name to a particular type of porcelain, every refinement of ceramic technique grew to perfection and was exploited to the full. This is the age of the " famille verte," the " famille noire " and the " famille rose " porcelains, painted on the glaze from a mixed palette of transparent and opaque enamels. An enormous quantity of these wares was exported to Europe and, naturally, the manufacturers began to strive to please the taste of their clients rather than to satisfy their own predelictions. Their work grew gradually frivolous, outlandish, and grotesque. They degraded their forms into meaningless fantasy ; they tortured their material to excite an admiring wonder rather than delight. From the close of the eighteenth century the history of Chinese porcelain is a record of rapid and continuous decline.

The great exhibition held last year in Burlington House afforded Europeans a unique opportunity of studying the art of China. The Chinese themselves have never had such facilities. Their great artistic possessions have usually been jealously secluded from the vulgar eye by the emperors and the nobles, who alone could afford to possess them. During the upheavals which have afflicted China in the present century there has been a steady drain of her best works of art towards Europe and America. Chinese art can be more easily studied nowadays in London, Paris, Boston and Stockholm than in any Chinese city.

The most determined scholar can scarcely expect to do more than wander a little on the outskirts of the subject. It is so vast in its range over time and space that even a bird's eye view is almost beyond hope. In attempting to discuss it within the space of an article, I feel as if I had been asking the reader " to see the world in a grain of sand " to " hold Infinity in the palm of your hand and Eternity in an hour."

THOMAS BODKIN

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT M'KENNA, S.J.

XL

LIFE IS BUT A LOAN

Seoffraidh Ó Cléirigh ecc

1. Dligidh iarracht · a iodhlacadh fe aithadha
ní hé ar ionnsaic · an té nach ionnlaic a acaradha.

2. Iarracht duthar · ir-tigfea duar gar dtiodhlacadh
ní bia fa buaidh · muna fia uaim a iodhlacadh.

3. Ná mealladh finn · an foicheadh éadhúigh [omfallfa]
famhach fa fíor · ir dabhach chíon an cholanna.

4. An cholann chiadh · corrach diumrach an dhroichéadha
anbhann a taobh · tabhram dar fhaor an foicheachta.

5. Déana agadh · a ingean díochra dhobuidheach
ná miarr orum · do fiar a cholann chomuidheach.

6. Tuga id chodladh · gan comhradh Dé n-ar ndiainphéimne
ir damhna deor · labhra don eon [gach] iairmhéirge.

7. Cnuasach peacadh · [óm] peann fcríobhtha ar mo [. . . .]
[cill go pé corp] · [tar mo chré tinn] olc oipeachán.

8. Deor thromchoirpe · go dtí tar abhra ar n-aighteine
badh fubhach fionn · madh dubhach ionn ón aithige.

9. Go rob cloch thrát · an teangtha nach tuimhaithmeach
gid géar gailbeach · gupa béal ainmneach upnaighteach.

10. Iorra i lot Chríst · go gcuipeam ar ar [gcroidheachaibh]
mac feang dar fiair · go mbeam n-ar liaigh dá [loicheachaibh]

11. A meadh n-othrair · nama horm fadh n-a follaran
go ndeach mo dhéarc · ir-teach i gcréacht a chollaran.

12. Cionnuṙ ṗaċaḋ · ṙan Ṙóiṁ ṗe ṙneaċta ṙínḋeoṙaċ
mealłaiḋ an tṙṡáiḋ ġeal ġṙianaċ · ṗeaṙ ḟṙíṁeolaċ.

13. Teampall Solṁa · go ṙléaċtaṙ ann go hoiṙiċleaċ
cloċ ġan ġné nġaiṙḃ · go ṙoḃ hé m'ainm a hoiłiċṗeaċ.

14. Toċt ṙan tíṙ naoiṁ · [neiṁ] uaḋa iṙ aiṙ [ḋo imġéaḃainn]
maiṙġ ṗa mḃia bṙóġ · iṙ Ḋia aṙ ġaċ ṗóḋ ḋá [n-imḋéaġainn].

15. [Reiłeaġ] Muiṙe · muiṙ Toiṙṙian tonn ḋaṙ nġaṙḃṁaicne
iṙ ceall ġaċ cuan · ṗeaṙṙ iṁá ġaċ uaġ aḋłaicte.

16. Sṙeaḃ Íoṙa iṙ Eoin · a huiṙce go ḋtí ċaṙumṙa
ṙṙuṫ ciṫṁeaṙ caṙ · go niġċeaṙ aṙ an t-anamṙa.

17. Go ḋtí i bṙoṙt ḟionn · na héiġḃeaċaḋ ṙiom ṙóḋḃṙuiġean
ġan teaċt ḋom ċoiġ · mo łeaċt ġuṙaḃ ċoiṙ tóġḃuiġeaṙ.

18. Maṙcaċ na ḋtonn · ná taḃṙaḋ ḋuine aṙ ḋéaṙċaiṙḋe
Ḋia aṙ muin ṁaṙa · iḋiṙ ṁuiṙ ċana iṙ téaċtḟaiṙṙġe.

19. Maṙcaċ na nḋúł · ḋo-ní cumaṙ ḋaṙ ġcoimṙiḋiḃ
ġé toṙċaiṙ ċṙíonn · ḋoṙċaiḋ an ṙíon a [ṙoiłłṙiġiṙ.]

20. [Ionġanta cáṙ] · caṫṙaċ aṙ a mḃí a ḃṙeaċaġa
naċ taṙaiḋ tṙá · aḋaiġ iṙ lá go łeaṫḟaḋa.

21. Toiṙċiġe an lá · ónaḃ léiṙ ḟeaḋa iṙ ḟinnłinnte
go n-iaḋ aḋaiġ · ciaṙ ḟa aġaiḋ na ḟiṁinnte.

22. Loċa [ḋoiṁne] · ḋá nḋáił ṁeoḋ tuġ 'n-a ḋtéaċttonnaiḃ
cuanna aḋ-ċíċiṙ · ṙtuaġa an ṙíċiġ ḟa ṁéaltannaiḃ.

23. Łuiḃe ġaċ ḟíł · ḟíołaṙ aṙ ġaċ ṙłioċt [ṙáiṙḟeaṙa]
ḋṙúiṙ oiṙċeaṙ ann · toiṙċeaṙ aṙ an ġcṙann [ċáiṙḟeaṙa].

24. Ón uiłe ṙcoił · ṙcṙíoḃaṙ łeaḃaṙ ġan łoiċteaġaṙ
iṙ cleiṫ cionnta · ní ṁeiċ a ḟioṙta ḋ'ḟoiṙceaḋał.

25. Ġan ġaoiṫ ṁe cṙann · ġan cioṫ ṙneaċta [aċḋ é aṫ ḟaṁłuġaḋ]
ḟa ċuiṙṙ caiṙṙġe · ġan tuinn ḋ'ḟaiṙṙġe aċḋ ġá aḋṁołaḋ.

26. Aḋ-ċí aṙ ṫ'aġaiḋ · ġaċ aon ḋá ṙaċa iḋ ṙúinḋeaḃaiḋ
aḋ-ċí aṙ ḋo ċúł · a Ṙí na nḋúł a Ḋúiłeaṁain.

27. Doirḃ do ċréigean · a-ṫaoi i ngaċ aird go hileaṙḋa
gé tú ag tṁall faṙ · tú ċiaṙ 'gam ċaiġ a Ċiġeaṙna.

28. Tuṙa óṙ aṙ gcionn · a ċṙaoḃ do ġein ó ġlanṁuiṙe
tú ag fulang fóinn · a uḃall óiṙ aṙ n-aḃlaine.

29. A-tá tú ċuaiḋ · óṙ tṙeiḃ lṙeiṙnn naċ aiṙdiġe
a-tá tú ċeaṙ · a ċnú do ṁeaṙ na maiġdine.

30. Gé fuaṙaiṙ uainn · onóiṙ ḋalta [a] faoiṙ foineaṁail
faṙ-íoṙ ṙo b'oiċ · aṙ ndíol oṙt aṙ n-at oileaṁain.

31. Cúig áiaiḋ oṙt · a Íoṙa a [ṁic] na mínḋealḃa
maiṫ cṙú do ċneaḋ · iṙ tú bṙaiṫ na ḃṙleaḋ ḃṙineaṁna.

32. Aṙ n-uilc ṙe n-éag · aḋṁam do Ḋia ó ḋaiġcṁiḋiḃ
ní tṙáṫ taġṙa · aṙ mbṙáṫ ag aġṙa aṙ n-aiṫḋiliġiḋ.
Ḋliġiḋ ia.

Translation

1. To restore with its interest the loan (given me) is incumbent on me; he is no just man whom its interest does not cleanse (from sin).
2. The loan I have brought (into thus world) will not, if I fail to repay it, escort me in triumph to Heaven above.
3. Let not this body, a crumbling rough deceitful (?) vessel, beguile me; too soon alas! it becomes a worn out vessel.
4. This earthly body, this bridge (to Heaven) is unstable and proud; weak is this vessel's side; let me commend it to my Creator.
5. Keep to thyself, thou body, perverse and thankless; ask me not to obey thee, thou hostile body.
6. Thou sleepest on, not praising God in our zealous choir, (while even) the bird sings each matin-time—what a cause for tears!
7. Sins are heaped up by my pen on my school-couch (?); sorry is the dwelling enclosing my suffering flesh till my body goes to the grave (?).
8. May the tear of heavy sorrow flow down my eye-lash; happy shall I be if I be afflicted with penance.
9. May this unforgiving tongue of mine become as a bell ringing the hours; sharp and bitter as my lips are, may they become patient and prayerful.
10. May I find herbs in my heart and place them in Christ's wounds; may I be a leech for the wounds of the gracious Son of my sister.
11. Let my charity sink into Christ's wound; may not pain equal to His body's pain be decreed against me in His Book.
12. How shall I go to Rome through showering snow-storm? Yet that bright sunny city entices to it any man excelling in wisdom.
13. May I in all observance prostrate myself in Solomon's Temple; may I be known as a pilgrim to that smooth-polished castle.
14. By a journey to the Holy Land I could escape pain (of Hell) (?); woe to him who would wear a shoe there, for God is present on every sod I should tread on.
15. Mary's tomb (?), the Eastern Sea is the sea (proper) for our rough folk; every bay (over there) is a burial-place better than any other grave.

16. The stream (Jordan) of Jesus and John—may its waters lave me; may my soul be cleansed by that rapid winding stream.

17. May the road-hostelry of the life beyond the grave await me in the fair City; may I, never returning home, have a tomb raised over me in the East.

18. May the Rider of the waves, God who rides upon the sea, the shoal and the frozen water, delay no man sadly.

19. The Knight of the Elements holds sway over all things that have power over us: though He died for our sake, clouds are darkening revelation (?).

20. Wondrous the state of the City (Heaven) on which has come God's appointed time, making day and night no longer of equal length.

21. The more fruitful (thus) is the day, showing forth clearly the woods and fair lakes till night closes over the Western sky.

22. The deep lakes whereon He places ice He has made into solid waves; in beauty are seen the star-covered pillars of the Palace.

23. The plants of every seed growing on every stock of great wisdom (?), the fruit of the Tree of true Knowledge (?)—desire of it is befitting (?).

24. God's great works cannot be extolled by any poet-band writing its book of faultless form; it hides them surely (?)

25. There is no wind in tree, no shower of snow but is Thy similitude; there is no sea-wave beating on sharp rock but sings His praise.

26. O Lord of the elements, O Creator, Thou seest in the future all who will rebel against Thee, and Thou seest all in the past too.

27. 'Tis hard to escape Thee; Thou existest in divers forms in every place; though I fare to the East, Thou in the West art yet with me.

28. Thou art above me, O Branch sprung from pure Mary; Thou stayest beneath me too, O golden apple of our tree.

29. Thou art in the North—dost Thou not rise over (?) the house of Hell? Thou art in the South too, O nut of the Virgin's fruit.

30. Thou didst receive from us, O gracious Creator, the title of foster-son; badly, alas! did we repay Thee for deigning to be fostered by us.

31. Thou bearest five wounds, O Jesus, O fair-formed Hero; precious is the blood of those wounds; Thou art our hope of the wine-feasts.

32. Let me confess with earnest heart ere my death my sins to God; the Judgment, which will urge my debt against me, will be no time for my defence.

NOTES

(MS.: Bk of Hy Many f. 57*b*. MS. readings departed from are noted below. The text of the MS. was printed by Kuno Meyer in Archiv fur C.L. iii, p. 234.

1 *b* ꝑe aꞇaꝛḃa *d* acaꝛꝛꝺa, *cf.* K. M. Contr. 2 *b* ꝺoıꝺlucuꝺ *d* mına 3 *b* omallꝛa; *Leg.* oṁꝛallꝛa or anꝑallꝛa? *d* ċalanꝺꝛa 4 *b* ꝺꝛoḋeꝛa *c* anꝑaꝺ *d* ꝛaeıꝛ 5 *a cf.* the common ꝺo-ním aꝛ, ꝺo-ním ꝛeaċa, &c. 6 *d* ꝺonn éan; ꝺu (overlined) 7 *b* mo; ꝛcolaḋ, *Leg.* ꝛcoılleaḃṫán? *cd* cıll ꝺaḋ ꝑe coꝛꝛ: ꝺaꝛꝛm cuꝛaḋ ṫuınꝺ olc oıꝛıclún. Text is merely conjectural. 8 *c* bíṙ ꝛubaḋ; *d* ma ꝺubaḋ 9 *c* cuꝛa b. 10 *a* l. a l. *b* aꝛ cꝺoꝺꝺıgıb; *cf.* ꝺꝺoıġeaḋ, ꝺꝺoıġṫeaḋ, &c. IGT § 22. *d* commeam naꝛ lıaıġ ꝺa loıꝺıꝺoıḃ 11 *a* a meṫ nuṫꝛuıꝛ; ꝛollaꝛum *b* collaꝛu (u overlined) 12 *b* ꝛınꝺeoꝛaḋ 14 *b* nem uaꝺaı ꝛaıꝛ ꝺa bınꝺgeıḃım *d* nımꝺıgeam 15 *a* ꝛaeıleaġ *b* ꝺonn seems unmetrical. *d* aꝺlaıġṫı 17 *ab* a ꝑuꝛꝛ bꝛınꝺ na egbeṫaꝺ ꝑım ꝛóꝺbꝛuıṫeaꝺ 19 *b* ꝺaní commuꝛ ꝺaꝛ comꝛıgıḃ. metre seems doubtful. *d* ꝺoꝛcaıꝺ ın ꝛín a ꝛꝺoılliꝛıgıꝺ. Sense of stanza uncertain; 20 *a* ınġnaꝺ ꝺeaꝛġaꝛ *c* ꝺaꝛaıġ 21 *c* coṁaꝺ aꝺaıġ 22 *a* ıꝛ aıḃne, which seems unmetrical *b* ꝛoıꝺ *d* ꝛıġꝺıġ 23 *b* ꝛlıcṫ ġuıꝺeaꝛu [u overlined and dotted] *d* ıꝛa cꝛaꝺ cuıꝑeaꝛu (u overlined). Emendations very doubtful. 24 *c* cınꝺꝺa *d* ꝑeıġ 25 *a* ıꝛ é ac ꝺalmuġuꝺ *d Leg.* aċꝺ 'ġaꝺ? 27 *a* ꝺa ꝺṫéġan *b* aꝺaı *d* ꝺıeaꝛꝑa 28 *bc Leg.* ꝛúınn: úıꝛ? 29 *b* ıꝛꝛeıꝛn 30 *b* a not in MS. 31 *a* ꝛíꝛ na mınnꝺeıḃa *b* m. cꝛuṫ ꝺa *c* K. Meyer suggests bꝛaıṡ, but bꝛaṫ, bꝛaıṫ "hope of" is common. 32 *a* ꝺaġcꝛaıꝺıḃ *b* nı ꝺꝛá ꝺ.

ANDRÉ MARIE AMPÈRE

Part II—A Great Soul in Anguish*

BY REV. P. J. MCLAUGHLIN, D.SC.
St. Patrick's College, Maynooth

THE appointment to the chair of mathematics at Lyons brought relief from the miserable poverty that Ampère had known at Bourg. But it did not bring happiness; for Ampère's mind, saturated with the pagan teachings of the *Encyclopédie*, now found itself at war with the instincts of his heart. After the signing of the Concordat, the churches had reopened and a great Catholic revival had taken place throughout France. Julia appealed to her husband to make his Easter duty, and Ampère was troubled that he could please her in all things except this: his sincerity required satisfactory reasons for the faith that smouldered on within him in spite of the poisonous atmosphere breathed by his soul during the ten years since the beginning of the Terror, when all practice of religion had become difficult, if not humanly impossible. The more Ampère reasoned and meditated, the more confused he became. In a letter to his wife he described his state of mind as that of "one who would drown in his own spit." He asked Julia to send him a prayer-book and a psalter, and he sought to ease the agony of his mind by prayer, but his torment persisted. He had the will to believe, yet his faith kept sickly, and he could not find an understanding priest in whom to confide his difficulties. He wished to believe for the sake of his wife, who suffered more from her husband's neglect of his religious duties than from her own

* For Part I. see September (1936) issue. The complete text of Ampère's correspondence, with all letters arranged in chronological order, has been collected in two large volumes by Louis de Launay of the Académie des Sciences and published by Gauthier-Villars (1936, 120 fr.). M. de Launay has also written a monograph, *Le Grand Ampère* (Perrin), while a rapid survey of Ampère's mystic life and of his struggles with poverty is presented in Maurice Lewandowski's *André-Marie Ampère*, 7th edition, 1936 (Grasset, 7 fr. 50), to which L. de Launay contributes a preface indicating the extent and importance of Ampère's scientific work. By his collection and publication of Bredin's *Lettres* M. de Launay has thrown further light on the great friendship that marked Ampère's life.

ill-health : he wished to believe for his son's sake, for he must be able to convince his son of the reasonableness of the faith which he would soon, as a conscientious father, have to teach him : he wished to believe for his own sake, because he never would have peace while thoughts of God and eternity and man's end kept recurring in his mind, tormenting him with their insistence and importance and clashing with the ideas of the *philosophes*. But the divorce between Ampère's faith and life was not to be easily cured, and it seemed as if the death of the person dearest to him were the price to be paid for the ransom of his soul. The short staccato notes in Ampère's diary recording the sequence of events after his arrival in Lyons in 1803 are touching :—

17 April. Low Sunday. I return from Bourg never more to leave Julia.

14 May. St. Polycarp. We go to Polémieux.

15. Sunday. I visit the church at Polémieux for the first time since the death of my sister [1793].

19. Ascension Thursday. High Mass at Polémieux. Sad walk home.

20. Friday. Julia's father arrives.

21. Saturday. Walk in the garden. Julia very ill.

[There follow references to the first lecture at the lycée—the lecture so long desired and so sorrowfully realised—references to doctors' visits as Julia wasted away, and references to the visits of a priest, M. l'Abbé Lambert, culminating in the significant entries] :—

6. June. Monday. Absolution.

7. Tuesday. St. Robert. To-day has decided the rest of my life,

Ampère had become a practising Catholic again, and the sincerity of his conversion is clear from the entry in his diary on the 13th July, when it became evident that Julia's hours on earth were numbered. As his wife lay in the shadow of death, Andrè prayed :—

Multa flagella peccatoris ; sperantem autem in Domino misericordia circumdabit.

Firmabo super te oculos meos et instruam te in via hac qua gradieris. Amen.

My God ! I thank Thee for having created me, for having redeemed me, and for having divinely lighted my eyes by bringing me forth in the womb of the Catholic Church. I thank Thee for having recalled

me to Thee when I had gone astray. I thank Thee for having forgiven me my wanderings. I know that Thou desirest me to live only for Thee, and I feel that I should consecrate every moment of my life to Thy service. Wilt Thou take away all my happiness on earth ? Thy Will be done. My sins have deserved such a punishment, but perhaps Thou wilt listen to the voice of Thy mercies.

Multa flagella peccatoris ; sperantem autem in Domino misericordia circumdabit. I hope in Thee, my God, and I submit to Thy will, whatever it may be. I would have preferred my own death, but I am not worthy of heaven, and Thy mercy spares me hell. Grant, O Lord, that a life spent in suffering may obtain for me the happy death which I have forfeited. O Lord, God of mercy, deign to unite me in heaven to her Thou hast permitted me to love on earth.

A few hours later, Ampère received his wife's last words : " Adieu, André. Mind Jean." ; and as the flame of that precious life went out, the ensuing darkness swept him into the second great tragedy of his early years. It is fortunate, having regard to the terrible consequences of his father's death, that Ampère was able to withstand this second tragedy as no more than a great and lasting sorrow. The recoil of the first months that followed Julia's death was indeed violent, and Madame Ampère was hard put to it to console her son. She wrote to him on his return to the lycée after a sad New Year spent at Poleymieux : " How it pains me, my poor Ampère, to see you in the state you were in on Sunday. You must try, my dear, to bear your cross with Christ. He visits those He loves. What will become of your poor child if he loses you, too ? Every day I see more and more how much he needs you : think how she recommended him to your care : are you carrying out her last wishes ? . . . Remember you have a duty to perform. Julia's child is another Julia. Providence sent him to console you. You must live to bring him up in the love and fear of God."

Ampère was tortured with thoughts of what might have been : Julia still alive if he had been rich enough to buy proper treatment for her ; Julia still alive if the ten thousand francs recently paid to him as part of his marriage settlement had been paid when it was due ; Julia still alive if he had gone into business instead of taking up teaching ; Julia still alive

but for his diabolical poverty . . . She never had a chance . . . Her son must be spared the misery she had suffered. Ampère must make money. At present he was wasting his time—day after distasteful day putting abstract ideas and petty truths before the inky-fingered sons of comfortable silk-merchants—bourgeois who in their shrewdness grew rich by catering for the lesser wants of man, while he, simpleton, slaved to serve man's higher needs . . . He had learned his lesson: only fools were teachers. He, too, would cater for the lower appetites of men and profit thereby: he would desert science and serve mammon. Instead of being a chemist he would be an industrialist—he would start a vitriol factory . . . Instead of being a teacher, he would become a schoolmaster à l'anglaise: plenty of money to be made out of that—exclusive boarding-school for young gentlemen indifferent to learning . . . Or, he would go to Paris and make a fortune.

Bitterness and impatience and, for the first and only time in his life, a certain cynicism discoloured his thoughts and actions, and his anxious mother wrote: "... What has come over you, my poor Ampère? Risk the fortune, small as it is, of your son and yourself in rash enterprises! Think how your violent impetuosity grieves your friends. Think how they bear with you in spite of their own troubles. You must begin to think of others; you must not let yourself be so easily carried away. You are so hot and impetuous. You let your mind boil over. An idea comes to you and you think of nothing else and lose all sense of proportion. The vitriol factory, the boarding-school, Paris! Have you experience for such undertakings? Consult your friends Périsse and Ballanche, who will advise you better than I can . . ."

Time and prayer took the sharp edge off Ampère's grief, and he turned to his friends, thanked them for their sympathy and forbearance, and began to take an interest in their troubles. He saw that some of them were touched with that "distemper of the age" which Chateaubriand has depicted for us in *Réné*. With Chateaubriand they appreciated the genius of Christianity and they found Catholicism beautiful and worthy of respect; but they saw it from a distance only, and their

souls remained unsatisfied: they were tormented by vague aspirations, by unreasoning fits of sadness, by the indefinable uneasiness which succeeded the great upheaval that had shaken society to its foundations. Ampère burned with the zeal of the newly converted to help the young scientists and philosophers of Lyons. He hoped to convince them, as he himself felt convinced, that Catholicism not only combined beauty with truth, but that it alone could provide the solutions to the problems that agitated their earnest minds.

For the discussion and solution of these problems Ampère proceeded to found the remarkable Christian Academy of Lyons, of which he was elected president at the inaugural meeting on the 24th February 1804, while young Claude Julien Bredin from the medical school was appointed secretary. The Academy met on Friday evenings at the houses of the members in turn, and the minutes and records, which have been piously preserved by the Bredin family, show that a high level in Christian apologetics was reached. The members examined together the principles of Christian morality, their general object being to help one another in a sincere inquiry concerning man's final end and his relations with his Creator. Few of the young men were firm believers, and doubts and objections were freely discussed, and papers were carefully planned and written in an endeavour to meet all real difficulties.[1] Ampère was the moving spirit in the meetings, and his powerful sympathetic mind, his encyclopaedic knowledge of historical facts, and his red-hot sincerity impressed profoundly the group of young intellectuals over whom he presided. Intervening shrewdly in the debates and guiding the discussions, he was an active president, and his efforts were nobly seconded by his friend Ballanche.[2]

[1] The nature of the discussions that took place at the Christian Academy of Lyons can be gathered from the titles of some of the papers which were read at the Friday meetings:—Bredin—Importance of knowing man's final end; Grognier—Can man by pure reason discover his own destination?; Ballanche—Necessity of Revelation; Ampère—Historical proofs of Revelation (a lengthy study which occupied several sessions); Chatelain—Christian morality and philosophical morality; Ballanche—Influence of Christian morality on the history of the human race.

[2] Ballanche, at times leading and at times led by Ampère, was a year younger than the Newton of electricity. He settled in Paris in 1814, having attracted notice by his essays and a prize poem *Antigone*. His greatest work, *Palingénésie Sociale* ("Social Regeneration"), illustrates the workings of God in history; it seeks to sketch how human

The happy influence of the Academy is clear from various testimonies. Young Barret, who later became a member of the Society of Jesus, wrote: "... My brave and noble Ampère, our little apostolate has not been in vain. After God, it is you who converted my brother." And M. de Roche: "... I had to come from the backwoods of Lozère to be converted: thereafter I worked to spread the Truth." And Julien Bredin: "... A friend brought me to M. Ampère's house just when I was most fiercely embittered against the Catholic religion. At that time I had a violent hatred of the truths which to-day are my only comfort." The Academy also reacted strongly upon its founder. The meetings cemented Ampère's friendship with Ballanche, the singer of his epithalamium, and they led to new friendships, of which the most noteworthy was that with Bredin. Perfect exchange of confidences with Ballanche, who was an introvert full of melancholy and mysticism, was impeded by a certain obscure reserve; but in Bredin, who was good, simple, impressionable, ardent, generous and passionate to the point of violence, Ampère found an *alter ego*. Ampère and Bredin had only to meet to understand each other. Julien's conversion by André put the seal upon their affection and begot a friendship of an intimacy, intensity and loyalty but rarely met with in the history of men or letters. For Bredin the friendship of a great man was a gift from heaven, while Ampère could speak as Montaigne spoke of La Boétie: "Si l'on me presse de dire pourquoi je l'aymois, je sens que cela ne se peut exprimer qu'en respondant: parce que c'estoit luy, parce que c'estoit moy—If you insist on knowing why I like him, I fear I can only answer that it is because he is he and I am I."

Ampère founded the Christian Academy not only to bring the truth to his friends but also to consolidate his own faith. His conversion had occurred in a highly charged atmosphere,

---

society may and will be reconstructed so as to attain to its highest development. The works of Ballanche are a strange mixture of mysticism, socialism and the philosophy of history. His *Vision d' Hébal* is a prophetic forecast of the world's history, Hébal being the chief of a Scottish clan who was gifted with second-sight. Ballanche, a member of the Academy, died in 1847. His *Life* was written by Ampère's son (1848).

and the roots of incredulity and the habits of the past were not entirely destroyed, and there were real dangers of a relapse as his first fervour cooled. He was still far from security and peace, and he warned himself in a new page of the *Imitation* thus :—

(Sep., 1804). Mistrust your intellect for it has so often misled you : its sole merit consists in a certain ability to produce brilliant thoughts easily. You perceived its vanity even when you were trying to be a philosopher. To-day, when you seek to become a Christian, do you not realise that proper understanding comes only from God ? . . . Do not conform your ideas with those of the world if you would have your ideas in conformity with truth. You must become simple and humble and detached from men and their opinions. Become calm and recollected, and do not try to chop logic with your Maker . . . All science which is the fruit of curiosity is vain. Do not be preoccupied with the sciences as hitherto ; work prayerfully ; study the things of this world : it is the duty of your state. But focus only one eye upon them ; let the other be focused on eternity. Hear scholars speak, but lend only one ear ; let the other be ever ready to heed divine whispers. Writing with one hand, with the other hold on tight to the garment of God . . .

Towards the end of 1804 Ampère went to Paris, having been nominated lecturer in mathematics at the École Polytechnique by Delambre and Lagrange, who were anxious to secure the services of the young scientist in the capital. Ampère prepared fresh memoirs for the Institut ; and, as his reputation increased, academical honours were conferred upon him one after another. In 1806 he was appointed Secretary to the Bureau Consultatif des Arts et Manufactures ; in 1808 Inspecteur général de l'Université ; in 1809 Professor of Applied Mathematics at the École Polytechnique ; in 1814 Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur and Member of the Institut ; in 1819 Professor of Philosophy at the Faculté des Lettres de Paris ; in 1820 Professor of Astronomy at the Faculté des Sciences de Paris ; and in 1824 Professor of Experimental Physics at the Collège de France. Glory and fame were, however, unaccompanied by happiness. In accepting the position at the École Polytechnique, Ampère had hoped for distraction from his grief in an abundance of work. But no sooner in

Paris than he felt lonely.[1] He wrote many papers on mathematical subjects and he carried out researches in chemistry, but science left his heart cold and his soul empty. He yearned for human friendships and he was incurably melancholy. He read and re-read Julia's letters, and he wrote frequently and at great length to his friends at Lyons, awaiting their answers with impatience: he hoped that the members of the Christian Academy would continue to stimulate in him sentiments of the good and the beautiful. Paris choked him, and he considered Parisians frivolous and without enthusiasm for serious matters, "employing themselves in nothing else but either in telling or in hearing some new thing."

Ampère, however, came across some exceptions. There was the physician Cabanis, famous for his materialist doctrines in medicine and philosophy, for whom physical causes explained everything—even ideas, which merely resulted from sensations and organic reactions. Cabanis was then exercising an intense influence on French thought by his clever *Rapports du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme*. Another was Destutt de Tracy, the author of *Eléments d'Idéologie* and a disciple of the Abbé de Condillac, whose philosophical system also reduces ideas to sensations. Both Cabanis and de Tracy were opportunists of the first water and knew the logic of politics from A to Z. They saved their heads from the guillotine during the Terror and they sat in high places under the Empire, while de Tracy lived to occupy a seat in the Chambre des Pairs under the Restoration. Ampère met them at the resurrected salon of Mme. Helvétius at Auteuil, where they reigned supreme instead of Condorcet, d'Holbach and Turgot and where now, in deference to the rude master that France had accepted, polished materialism replaced the destructive utopianism of the eighteenth century.

The philosophical Society of Auteuil had an immediate

[1] Ampére's sad reflections began the day after his arrival in Paris, when from the Place du Carrousel he watched the procession to Notre Dame for Napoleon's consecration as Emperor by the Pope. He was unimpressed by the glittering pomp, but the sight of a flag, torn in shreds during the wars of the Revolution, moved him deeply. His opinion of Napoleon is contained in letters to Bredin and in a letter in 1806 to Julia's sister, Elsie: ". . . Did I tell you of my presentation to the Emperor a fortnight ago? I had ample opportunity for inspecting this celebrated man who inspires you with so much admiration. If his heart were as vast as his genius, what a man he would be!"

and lasting reaction upon Ampère. For the next twelve years he struggled to solve the profoundest problems of metaphysics, and he sought to attain in philosophy the clarity and certitude he had experienced in the mathematical sciences. Not finding these requisites in the systems then in vogue, he invented systems of his own; but they also failed him, and time after time he was driven towards a solution that was not a solution—namely scepticism. His mind became more violently agitated and his unhappiness increased. Finding himself deceived by abstractions and finding the views of others so often foolish and illogical, he wondered if the human mind was capable of reaching truth. "Are the senses trustworthy? Do concepts correspond with reality? Are our deductions valid? Can premises be certain? Do they not require proof from a simpler premise, which in turn also requires proof? . . . Nothing is immediately certain, and there is no solid foundation or starting-point. Certitude cannot be obtained by processes of thought: everything is uncertain, even the existence of good. To think is to risk thinking falsely and to act is to risk acting wrongly." Such a negative and spineless philosophy could never satisfy Ampère's strong intellect, yet it enslaved and tortured him during a dozen years. It was only in 1817 that Ampère came to realise that certitude is possible, that the only life worth living is that based on certitude, and that certitude includes the realm of religion as well as the realm of the exact sciences. By 1817 he finally and irrevocably realised the need of belief, and he accepted fundamental things as certain, the most fundamental thing being religion. "Belief begins where doubt ends, and belief is the same as religious belief."[1] But Ampère had a long dark calvary to tread before light kindly led him to that comforting conclusion.

When his friends learned of his frequent visits to the salon of Mme. Helvétius at Auteuil and heard that he had begun researches in psychology in the hope of doing for philosophy what Lavoisier had done for chemistry, they became uneasy. Ballanche took him to task for neglecting

[1] *Cf.* Eric Gill: *The Necessity of Belief.*

his career in mathematics and for embarking upon an uncertain one in metaphysics. He also pointed out the danger to his religious sentiments. "1805. I see with pain that at thirty years of age you change career. . . . You are on the brink of a precipice: one touch of dizziness and what will happen? Your imagination is a cruel power which dominates you. . . . The other members of our Academy are happy, and I ask myself: does God punish you and me for sinning by pride?" The fears of his friend were realised: Ampère's religious doubts returned. He was to spend December at Poleymieux, and he worried about the effect of his scepticism on his mother. When he arrived at Lyons, his friends found him greatly changed. Bredin wrote in his diary: "8 Dec., 1805. The same dear, good, generous, expansive, large-hearted, warm-hearted Ampère, and yet how different! Last year he was a Christian; to-day he is merely a great man, a genius: his god is glory. Pride tempts him to sound and charter all the mysterious depths of the human understanding . . . 15 Dec. Ampère is no longer eloquent on the eternal truths: his conversation is all science and fame. Civilisation no longer means for him bettering mankind: it is only the evolution of forces and faculties; he is now only interested in advancing science, civil freedom and the independence of nations . . . 17 Dec. My friend leaves to-morrow. May God watch over him. What will become of him on the vast stage of human folies that is Paris? What an excellent man, what vast genius! . . ." Back in Paris Ampère continued to be troubled and his agony of mind is revealed in a letter to Bredin: "25 Feb. 1806. . . . My God, whither leadest Thou me by these paths so far removed from the goal I aim at?" Would Bredin and the members of the Christian Academy combine to convince him that the goodness of God is not in contradiction with eternal damnation. He has never doubted about the immortality of the soul, but the nature of the hereafter is perplexing him. His memoir for the Institut is suffering from the state of his mind, and hell is in his heart. "Why has scepticism displaced my former firm faith? . . . I sometimes get relief. The

Imitation, especially the admirable thirty-seventh chapter of the third book,[1] does me good. But my imagination will not let me alone. It ruffles and torments my life. It buffets me upon waves of contradictory thought. I accept in the evening what I rejected in the morning. What an agitated state of mind I am left in, away from my mother, my son and my friends—my only company sad, if tender, memories of *her*."

Ampère tried to escape from his melancholy thoughts by taking deeper plunges into metaphysical research. At Auteuil he became acquainted with Maine de Biran, one of the profoundest thinkers of the century, who was then reacting vigorously against the sensism of the other disciples of Condillac by his *Influence de l' Habitude* and his *Décomposition de la Pensée*. Initiator of a new psychological method, he studied man by introspection and so grasped the unity, identity and freedom of the soul—not as the painful conclusion of a syllogism but rather as an undeniable fact of direct intuition. Ampère wrote to Bredin : " August, 1806. I am still much given to metaphysics and am very friendly with Maine de Biran. His philosophy is diametrically opposed to modern systems. He is an idealist, like Kant, and is perhaps even more the enemy of materialism. My own system is simpler and, I think, more in accordance with the facts, but it does not exalt the soul as highly as does his way of conceiving intellectual phenomena. His system attaches supreme importance to the innate force of the will, which is essentially free."

Ampère corresponded with Maine de Biran when the latter left Paris in 1807 to go to his native Bergerac as Subprefect, but he found that letters, however philosophical, were poor solace to an empty heart. His acquaintances at Auteuil advised him to marry again. Julia would have wished it, Elsie understood, Bredin approved and Ballanche wrote : " I have received your enormous letter of the tenth : it tired me terribly. We are two unhappy creatures who will never learn. Your heart is a furnace, mine a void . . . Go and marry without making such a fuss, without consulting all the world, without letting everybody know your feelings.

[1] " Of a pure and full resignation of ourselves for the obtaining freedom of heart."

One would think that you were trying to get rid of your heart, you are so anxious to give it to the first comer who pretends to understand it."

Ampère, alas, gave his heart to the first-comer. He was introduced by the philosopher de Gérando to Mademoiselle Jeanne Potot, a vain, selfish, smirking gold-digger, who saw in Ampère, now thirty-two years of age, a promising husband. Despite protests and warnings from Poleymieux, the marriage contract was drawn up by M. Potot, and every penny Ampère had was settled on the bride. In a few months Ampère realised that he had married into a family altogether unworthy of him, in which the only measure of life was money. Philosophy was jeered at, and he himself was ridiculed by a mother-in-law whose sentiments were those of D'Alembert's foster-mother—but they were rarely as elegantly expressed : " You will never be anything but a philosopher ; and what is a philosopher but a fool who torments himself during his life that people may talk about him when he is dead." The Potot family subjected him to every indignity, and having captured his last sou they turned him out of his own house. Judicial proceedings were instituted, and while they were pending, Ampère learned from a stranger that a daughter Albine had been born. He put the child to nurse and went to Poleymieux to consult his friends. Bredin's diary refers to the effects of the unhappy marriage : " Sept. 1808 . . . Despite his sufferings he has not changed. Under the distracted exterior there is still the same energy and fire, the same exaltation and tenderness, the same torrent of ideas : nothing more mobile than his mind, nothing more persistent than his character. As he told me with tears in his eyes of the many humiliations inflicted upon him, he was sad beyond consoling. What a base family ! "

The case of Ampère *v.* Ampère came before the courts, and a legal separation was declared in favour of Ampère, the child of the unhappy marriage being assigned to his charge. And there we leave this great but tortured soul for the present.

P. J. McLaughlin

(*To be concluded*)

GENERAL LUIS DE LACY IN THE SPANISH SERVICE

BY PATRICK MACBRIDE, M.A., DR. EN L. (MADRID)

AS the President faces the deputies in the Cortes of Madrid, on his right hand, at the same side as the *banco azul* of the ministry, is a plaque bearing the names of Riego[1] and others who have served the cause of democracy in Spain in an outstanding manner. Prominent upon it is the Irish name "de Lacy." This name was placed there in 1820 by order of the newly constituted Cortes, who declared Luis de Lacy a heroic martyr in his country's cause. That he had met his death by the orders of his king only three years before this signal honour was accorded him is only another of the many ironic fluctuations of fortune in the life of this remarkable man.

Born in San Roque, a Spanish village near the frontier at Gibraltar, on January 11th, 1775, Luis de Lacy came, so Spanish historians tell us, of a "distinguished Irish family." He traced his descent from that John de Lacy of Limerick who married Lady Elinor Hurley of Knocklong at the end of the seventeenth century. Pierce de Lacy, son of John, was Luis de Lacy's great-grandfather. He married Lady Arabella Gould of Knockraun, Co. Cork, and had a large family—one of whom, Patrick, apparently the second son, is the General Patrick de Lacy y Gould of Spanish History. This General Patrick married in Spain and his son, Lt. Col. Patrick de Lacy, was the father of our Luis. There is some difference of opinion as to whether it was General Patrick or a cousin, General Count William, who was the hero of the siege of Oran in 1732. General William was also a Limerick man, and either he or General Patrick commanded the famous Irish Regiment of Ultonia in the relief of the Moorish city.

[1] "Himno de Riego," the National Anthem of the Spanish Republic since 1931, is called after this Riego.

General Patrick de Lacy y Gould had only two sons, Patrick and Francis. The former of these died young, having attained the rank of Lt. Colonel, and is famous mainly as the father of our Luis. The other is well known both for his military and diplomatic exploits. He conducted the siege of Gibraltar in the early seventeen-eighties and was later sent as minister plenipotentiary to both Russia and Sweden. In 1789 he became Governor and *Capitán General* of Catalonia and died in Barcelona three years later.

On the death of Lt. Col. Patrick de Lacy, Luis's mother, who is known to us only as Doña Antonia, married again, this time a Frenchman named Gautier. Luis, an only boy, does not seem to have agreed too well with his stepfather. Having entered the army at a very tender age, he accompanied M. Gautier and his brother on a military expedition to Puerto Rico. When they returned to Coruña in 1789, Luis, having evidently quarrelled with his stepfather, ran away and tramped on foot the long distance of some two hundred miles to Oporto. He was penniless, but his idea was to take ship to the Moluccas, in which project he was forestalled by M. Gautier, who followed the youthful adventurer to Oporto and brought him back to Spain.

At nineteen, Luis was a captain in Ultonia and accompanied his men to the Western Pyrennees, where he distinguished himself by his bravery against the French. As this Regiment of Ultonia, as well as being his own for a time, was also that from which he drew his posthumous title it may be well to glance briefly here at its history.

All through the seventeenth century there were short-lived Irish regiments fighting in Spain, but it was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that Irish Regiments were accorded definite official recognition by being taken on the muster rolls of Philip V. (It must be remembered that Philip was a Bourbon and came from France). These regiments were formed by supernumerary officers out of the Irish Brigades in France; some authorities have it that a few officers followed Philip from France to Spain in 1701. Besides these officers a number of Irishmen deserted from the English

expedition of Rocke and Ormonde to Cadiz, and these may have formed the nucleus of the body of the new regiments. Irish deserters from the enemy seem always to have been accorded a hearty welcome in Spain (as Luis de Lacy was himself to prove). This is probably accounted for by the fact that trained soldiers were generally at something of a premium in those days, as we shall see from the amount of time de Lacy spent in drilling and disciplining organised regiments as well as mere recruits.

The Infantry Regiment of Charlemont and the Queen's Dismounted Dragoons in France joined and formed the Franco-Irish Regiment of Galenoy. As there were far too many officers in the new regiment, Dermot Mac Auliffe and several others made their way to Spain to place themselves at the service of that country. In doing this they had the example of those who had gone before under the patronage of the Marqués de Castellar and formed what was at a later date to become the famous Hibernia. Mac Auliffe was able to officer his corps completely with Irishmen from his old regiment ; but he had the right, as had the other Irish regiments in Spain, to admit non-nationals of any description into the rank and file. According to the Marqués Merry del Val, Ultonia consisted at its creation in 1703 of two battalions of ten companies, each battalion with one company of grenadiers and another of fusiliers. In those days it was still Mac Auliffe's Regiment, and he was breveted as colonel in 1709. Recruiting does not seem to have gone ahead as quickly as it might ; for, despite the powerful composition adduced above, it is a fact that in 1710 Ultonia consisted of only 408 men—which, if it adhered to its full formation, would leave only twenty odd soldiers in each company.

In contradistinction to the white uniforms of the Spanish soldiers of the line the men of the Irish Regiments kept to the red coats of the French uniform, distinguishing amongst themselves by the colour of the facings, which in the case of Ultonia were blue as were their cuffs and breeches. On the regimental standard all carried the harp, making no attempt to show the arms of the particular name of the regiment.

After the battle of Campo Santo in 1743 and as a tribute to their great bravery on that occasion, Hibernia and Ultonia were ordered to add to their standards the motto " In omnes terras exivit sonitus eorum."

In view of the relations which have always existed between Ireland and Galicia, it is interesting to note that in September 1738 Ultonia recruited the whole of the rank and file of the Galician regiment of Santiago without however taking any of the officers. The three surviving Regiments—Ultonia, Hibernia and Irlanda—were joined together for the first time into a single Brigade under an Irish Brigadier in 1740 to fight until 1747 in the War of the Austrian Succession. In 1771, Ultonia was the first Irish Regiment in the service of Spain to cross the Atlantic, for it was sent from Cadiz to Panama in 1769 and came back from Vera Cruz two years later. But the Irish Regiments were gradually losing their national character, and from 1792 all admitted foreigners even as officers. About this time Ultonia absorbed a Walloon Regiment from Brussels, and from this on we find Spanish, Belgian and Italian names among those of the junior officers. That the seniors were still Irishmen is borne out by the testimony of an English naval officer who came into contact with Ultonia at Rosas at the beginning of the Peninsular War. He said that, though none of the privates or non-commissioned officers could speak a word of English, many of the seniors not only bore Irish names but could speak English as well as they could Spanish. Phillippe les Fleurs, first and last non-Irish commander of Ultonia, took charge in 1813 and shortly after the Regiment was disbanded.

The year 1795 found our young captain of Ultonia, Luis de Lacy, in the Canaries, where his exploits were now more amatory than military. Unfortunately for Luis his rival in love was no less a person than the *Capitán-General* of the Islands. A duel was fought, in which de Lacy wounded his opponent. The youthful Don Juan was banished to the Island of Hierro, a Spanish commentator adding that the Governor did this as " the only means of disposing of a rival as daring as he was fortunate." The action seems certainly

to have been dictated by jealous spite, and de Lacy's proud nature did not submit tamely to such an indignity. While in exile, he seems to have employed his enforced leisure in writing insulting letters to his superior. At any rate, whatever the content of these letters, they earned for the writer a summons to court-martial. The sentence was light: in view of "his good military record" he was condemned to no more than a year in prison at Concepcion de Cadiz. Unfortunately de Lacy's proud spirit would not brook even such a reprimand, and his resentment showed itself so violently that he was considered mentally unbalanced and taken off the active list of the army on his release from prison.

Deprived of his commission and prevented from re-enlisting in the Spanish army, Luis found himself on the eve of his twenty-first birthday a soldier without a country. The army was in his blood and he made his way to France, where he enlisted in a line regiment. His military genius, however, could not long remain hidden, and within a month he was appointed a captain in the Irish brigade which was being formed at Morlaix. It is said that this appointment was due to a personal interview with Napoleon, who had been apprised of de Lacy's family tradition and personal exploits by the Duke of Fettra, General Clarke. An officer once more he engaged in a Don Juanesque round of conquests, which ended in his marrying Mlle. Guermer at Quimper. As the family was strongly Royalist in sympathy, the match was definitely frowned upon; but the Señora de Lacy seems to have been rather independent for her time, as our main subsequent information concerning her is that she accompanied her husband on most of his campaigns, starting out for Antwerp three days after the wedding.

Despite the fact that he fought for France as far afield as Berlin, Spain seems to have held de Lacy's affections; for when in 1807, now *chef de bataillon*, he was ordered to proceed to Spain, he first endeavoured to get sent elsewhere and then tendered his resignation. His pleas were unheeded, his resignation ignored; so sending his wife and child to the Guermer home in Brittany, he proceeded to Madrid with his men.

He arrived there in 1808 to find the city in arms against the French ; so he quietly deserted and went over to his comrades of former days. He surrendered as prisoner of war, but was given a command instead of detention.

From this date onwards Spanish history begins to make frequent reference to Brigadier General de Lacy, and the French must have often regretted the day of his desertion. He fought against them from the Ebro to the Tagus, inflicting notable losses and capturing on one occasion three thousand enemy cavalry. At the retaking of Ocaña—near Aranjuez, now so familiar to us—he was one of the heroes of the day, and this is the more remarkable as from records of the siege we know that de Lacy's detachment was the last to come on the scene and that arriving by night it was unable to reconnoitre the ground. He commanded the first division of the army directed by Don Juan Carlos de Areizaga. On the 10th of November, 1809, de Lacy was aiding the cavalry of General Freire, and coming from Tembleque he dislodged the French from Ocaña. Of the subsequent crushing defeat of the Spaniards and the recapture of Ocaña Gómez de Arteche in his *History of the War of Independence* says : " We can all remember how, in the discussion of the plan of that campaign, so many people, favouring us with their views, echoed the opinion of their old comrades in arms who proclaimed de Lacy the man who had best resisted the entry of the enemy into Ocaña." In one of the phases of the combat, during a hazardous change of front to avoid an attempt on the part of the enemy to surround them, the forces of de Lacy were noted for the calmness with which they manoeuvred in such critical circumstances, while de Lacy was personally the hero of the battle, taking two cannon, wounding the French commander and killing his adjutant.

In 1810, when Cadiz was besieged by the French, the Regency decided to send out maritime expeditions which would land in the surrounding country and harry the besiegers. Amongst other honours heaped on de Lacy had been the command of the Isla de Leon on which Cadiz itself is situated, and naturally he was the man selected to command these

marine sorties. Having strengthened the fortifications, he embarked with 3,000 men on the 17th of June for Algeciras. The expedition was not completely successful, as they failed to get the fifty odd miles inland to take Ronda; nor were they able, as they had planned, to fortify certain cities of the *serrania*, having instead to take shelter in Casares. Yet their journey could not be called useless if only because of the courage inspired in their partisans in the mountains. Eventually too they sallied from Casares and made fresh trips through the country surrounding Marbella. But they were attacked by an overwhelming force of French and had to take to the sea for Cadiz, which they reached on the 22nd of July. While in Cadiz, de Lacy prepared another expedition—this time landing at Huelva—which was more successful in that it drew off part of the French forces, obliging them to go to the assistance of Massena who was in command in Portugal. On his return to Cadiz on the 22nd of September de Lacy led a sally which destroyed many of the enemy posts. According to the French this corner of Spain was at the time the only part to give any trouble to the would-be conquerors.

In 1811 de Lacy was sent to Catalonia to replace the Marqués de Campoverde who had lost Tarragona. He took charge at Vich on the 9th of July and placed himself, his troops and the Junta in Solsona. He left his second in command, Baron de Eroles, to defend the mountain and monastery of Montserrat, which lie between Solsona and the captured port of Tarragona. Having taken the fortresses of Cardona and La Seo, de Lacy next undertook the task of reforming and disciplining the army. This was not too difficult, because the men had lost confidence only in their leader. Under the famous de Lacy they still had faith in ultimate victory; and so when he appealed on the 15th of July for volunteers to strengthen his forces, many flocked to his standard. In August a rumour was put about that he was to leave Catalonia, whereupon the General published a manifesto to the effect that he would rather die with his last soldier than abandon his post.

Not alone was de Lacy the life and soul of the struggle

in Catalonia during these trying years, but he also sent reinforcements to the defence of Valencia. This was of course good military strategy, as by keeping the invaders busy in Valencia de Lacy saw to it that they could not withdraw any of their men to send them against the Catalan province. These reinforcements broke the important line of communication established by the French between Barcelona and Lérida and enabled de Lacy, knowing the enemy to be occupied elsewhere, to devote himself to his recruits in the mountain fastnesses. He had fortified certain points in the high Sierra de Busa and thus made a safe place for his military academy. When he felt that his troops were sufficiently drilled, de Lacy led a successful expedition into the enemy territory, burned several villages as a reprisal for French incendiarism, levied tribute in the towns and generally terrorised enemy sympathisers. The moral effect of this short campaign was excellent; the weakly Spaniards became the invaders and the aggressors.

De Lacy's next move on his return from this punitive expedition was to set about capturing the Medas Isles in the mouth of the Ter. With this object in view he sent Eroles with the English colonel Green who disembarked on the Islands on the 29th of August. They took and destroyed the French fort there, but the Englishman thought it best to abandon it. This did not suit de Lacy's ideas; so on the 11th of September he himself embarked for the fort, which he rebuilt, garrisoned and fortified sufficiently to resist attack. He then renamed the islands, Isles of the Restoration.

On his way to Berga, where the Junta had need of his presence, he engaged the French at Igualda on the 4th of October and drove them back to, and eventually out of, a neighbouring Capuchin monastery with the loss of some 200 men. The following December, hearing that General Decaen, who had replaced Marshall Mac Donald in the enemy command, was sending a convoy to Barcelona, he decided to " disturb " his march. He had not a sufficient number of troops at his command to prevent the convoy from reaching its destination; so he arranged an ambush on the heights of La Garriga. On the 5th of December Decaen came along with 5,000 infantry,

400 horse and four cannon; de Lacy not alone routed them but, in the person of his subordinates Casas and Manso, pursued them to Granollers, where they had to turn aside and leave Vich and Comarca untroubled. These triumphs of de Lacy and his methods of fighting gave birth to crowds of guerrilleros, who saw that the enemy had never a period of unbroken peace and kept them constantly in difficulties as regards communication with France.

The following January (1812) found de Lacy in Reus, a few miles from Tarragona, keeping a watch on that lost city. Taking advantage of a careless move on the part of Laforce who had been sent out from Tortosa specially to watch him, de Lacy fell on a battalion left in Villaseca under Dubarry and almost destroyed it. Then fearing an attack projected by Decaen on Vich, the Irishman decided to intercept the enemy march. He halted on the 26th and 27th in Coluspina; but the French made no move and de Lacy proceeded to Moya. There he discovered that the enemy were at Centellas and San Felice; so advancing on these posts he gave battle and routed them completely.

In May, taking advantage of the fact that the French were changing their positions both in the north east and near Tarragona, de Lacy made for Mataró in hopes of taking the fortress which had been made out of the Capuchin monastery there. He failed in this despite the aid of the English naval artillery, as both French commanders turned on him, Lamarque descending from the north and Decaen coming over from Lérida. For safety de Lacy had to send the artillery back to their ships and retire with his men to Llinas. He had been appointed on the 17th of April to the supreme command of the army in Catalonia with the rank of Lieutenant General, and he may have wished to celebrate his appointment by showing that he could recapture Tarragona, which had been lost by his predecessor. But though he failed in this his prime objective, his harrying tactics disturbed Decaen to such an extent that the French commander sought a parley at Reus. Nothing seems to have come of this interview.

During this time de Lacy was anxiously awaiting the

arrival of the Anglo-Sicilian Fleet, which was due to arrive at any moment. Yet when it did come, he sent it to Alicante where he thought it was needed more, though according to some he was obliged to do this because the Catalonian government could not pay the fleet. When he found that the Catalans resented the requisitioning of horses for the army, he ordered that all taken should be paid for and so held their allegiance. On the other hand, the cruelty of some of the French generals led him to shoot some prisoners he had taken and threaten worse reprisals if the conventions of war were not respected. The Government, never very enthusiastic about de Lacy, now stepped in and accused him to the Regency on a charge—of all things—of inactivity. The result must have surprised them somewhat, as their services were quietly but firmly dispensed with. But the end of his time in Catalonia was at hand. The whole Spanish army was in need of reorganising, and de Lacy was selected as the obvious person to undertake the task. He left, therefore, for Santiago.

In Santiago de Lacy found himself appointed to the Reserva de Gallicia. This Regiment, which was supposed to be at the service of Wellington, was composed of some 50,000 men. De Lacy devoted himself to the task of reorganising and disciplining his men. Then Ferdinand VII returned to Spain, and the time seemed ripe for de Lacy to receive official recognition of his long and valuable services to Spain.

But Ferdinand was not the man to appreciate such a character as that of de Lacy. In October 1807 Charles IV arrested his heir Ferdinand on a charge of conspiracy against the crown. The prince managed, by betraying his accomplices, to avoid the worst consequences of his guilt. In the following year he managed, by exaggerating the resentment of the people because of his mother's favourite, Godoy, to prevail upon his parents to abdicate in his favour. This was in March, and in May he found himself, despite the oath of allegiance he had received from the army, Napoleon's prisoner. He spent six years in Vallençay, during which time a prudent Cortes decided that no engagements made by him in captivity should be considered valid. When Napoleon resolved to set

him free in 1814 on condition that he banished the English from Spain, the Cortes referred to their previous decree and also passed another refusing to acknowledge him until he should have sworn to recognise the constitution. This was the very last thing Ferdinand was prepared to do. Like all weak crafty natures he was particulary attached to power, and he decided that as king this power should be absolute. He came back to a people for whom he had no affection, a small band of nobles presented him with a petition for a return to the *ancien régime*, and this was sufficient for Ferdinand. He commenced to put his ideas for an absolute monarchy into execution.

In common with many others, de Lacy decided that Ferdinand could not be allowed to continue his policy unchecked; so, having spent a couple of years brooding over the injustice and oppression so prevalent in the country, he joined in 1816 with an old Catalan comrade named Milans in a military rising against the monarchy. Other insurrections had been attempted before, but unsuccessfully; history must not be allowed to repeat itself. From Madrid to Catalonia went de Lacy, planning, organising, inspiring. But someone betrayed his plans. On the night of the rising only a few scattered companies and isolated officers were at the meeting place in Caldetas. They were forced to fly; Milans escaped, but de Lacy was captured, taken to Barcelona and sentenced to death by courtmartial. He was still the popular hero however, particularly in Catalonia, and any attempt to have him executed there would have been inviting a popular insurrection. He was smuggled by night across to Mallorca and there shot, facing death with "the same bravery which he had shown in defending his country," as we read in one account.

Luis de Lacy, despite his long and brilliant career as a soldier, was only forty-two when he was executed on July 5th 1817. Exactly three years later he was accorded a public funeral in which Ferdinand himself, baulked by now of his absolutism, took part; and in addition to the honours conferred on his memory by the Cortes, the king posthumously created him Duke of Ultonia.

P. MacBride

A FRESH VIEW OF IRISH POLITICS

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.

The Four Green Fields. By George O'Brien. Talbot Press. 1936. 3s. 6d.

If it be permitted to compare small nations with great, one may risk the suggestion that in political matters the Irish and the Germans represent extreme opposites. So strong a tendency have the latter to put thought before action that their political movements are heavy with excess of doctrine. German socialism, for example, ran the Marxian ship on the rocks by overloading it with amending theories, and it was left to the Russians to give practical effect to what Marx proudly called the conclusions of German science. The Irish tendency, on the other hand, is to act first and think afterwards, if at all. Irish politics partake so much of the character of " pure act " that observers from outside sometimes fail to find any meaning in them. There are merits and defects in both temperaments. German theory has had enormous influence on the world, but there lurk amid its luxuriant growths some very unpleasant phantasms. Ireland is so far from having a theory that it scarcely understands itself, and is capable of mistaking defeat for victory as well as victory for defeat.

Now without wanting to go so far as Marx, Rosenberg, or Ludendorff, we may feel that much more theorising about Irish politics would be of advantage to Ireland. It is not even always essential that political theories should be true, provided they be consistent and striking. Perhaps it is irreverent or heretical to compare those two great men, Karl Marx and Arthur Griffith ; but there is this much similarity between them at any rate. Setting out from erroneous first principles, they gave—the one to international socialism, the other to the Irish nation—a body of doctrine which in both cases has proved immensely effective as a stimulus to revolutionary action. Griffith's ideal of the Kingdom of Ireland was based upon a false view of history, and his economics on a limited notion of modern conditions, but in their own small sphere of influence they have been as powerful as Marx's labour theory of value or his dialectical materialism. Griffith was unique among Irishmen, whereas Marx was a typical German, none the less so for being also a Jew.

Dr. George O'Brien, whose earlier works on Irish economic history rank among the outstanding products of Irish scholarship in our time, has come forward at a most opportune moment with a book which, for all its modest appearance and humble price, should put Irish nationalism permanently in his debt by giving it just the stimulus to fresh and vigorous thought that the times most urgently require. His poetical title, derived from a famous passage in Yeats's *Kathleen Ni Houlihan*, is a prognostic of the warm, sympathetic, and often

eloquent style in which he writes. Yet his book, while constituting a powerful and moving plea for a reintegration of Irish national thought and for the maintenance of the political tradition which is the glory of modern Ireland, is imbued with the spirit of calm and impartial historical inquiry, and throws fresh light on the origin and nature of the Irish struggle for liberty at almost every page. He begins by quoting the meaningless old saying, which frequent repetition amid the glow of after-dinner oratory has made commonplace, that Irish history is for Englishmen to remember and for Irishmen to forget. "A more correct aphorism" says Dr. O'Brien "might be that Irish history is a subject for Englishmen to learn and for Irishmen to learn properly." As far as recent history is concerned, this book is a most valuable contribution to so desirable an educative process. It should form henceforth part of the equipment, not only of every thoughtful Irish nationalist, but of every thinking Englishman.

This last remark may sound perhaps ambitious both to Irishmen and Englishmen who think of Ireland as a negligible, if sometimes slightly troublesome, element in the large concerns of a world-wide Empire. One of the great services rendered by this book is that it shows the falseness and the danger of this not uncommon view. Dr. O'Brien suggests in one of his most stimulating passages that the recovery of contact between Catholicism and real democracy, which is so notable a feature of recent European history, may be due in very large measure both to the intimate union of the two in nineteenth-century Ireland and to the louder echo of this union in America. There is equal justification for his judgment that the coincidence from 1912 to 1914 of an Irish crisis, leading to mutiny in the British army, with tension among the European powers, played a larger part than is always admitted in bringing on the Great War. If, as many good judges consider, Europe and with it Great Britain are once more in danger, no greater error could be committed by statesmen than to leave Ireland out of account as an insignificant factor. Side by side with these proofs of the necessity for full understanding between Ireland and Great Britain goes the fact, emphasised more than once in these pages, that the Irish question has been perhaps the greatest solvent and agent of far-reaching changes in internal and imperial British politics during the nineteenth century.

Dr. O'Brien's central theme is the failure of the Legislative Union, and the various forces, arising therefrom, that have created the Irish problem as we now know it. He is inclined to think that but for the ghastly error involved in postponing Catholic Emancipation, with its manifold consequences (among the most notable of which he rightly counts the formation in 1858 of the Irish Republican Brotherhood), the Union might well have been a success. It is curious to note that

perhaps the chief responsibility for the tragic postponement of Emancipation lies on the shoulders of Lord Clare, the same who terrorised the Irish ascendancy, in a great speech on behalf of the Union, with their ever-present danger from "the old inhabitants of the island." We may doubt whether any favourable chain of events would have made the Union a success. Dr. O'Brien only distantly adverts to the fact that, until 1745 and the final collapse of the Stuart cause, the Irish nation as we know it to-day was not yet in existence. The poets who made the last songs for the Stuarts, the infinitely pathetic harbingers of the "Merchant's Son" that never came triumphantly across the sea, were not Irish nationalists as we should now use the term. They represented the last articulate echoes of the old Gaelic culture, for which devotion to the Stuarts was the *ignis fatuus* that led into the ultimate morass. The Irish nation came into life in the fearful century that began with the Stuart débâcle and ended with the devastating ordeal of the Famine. The force that was born in those gloomy years had no Grattan by its cradle; it was bereft of noble leaders; it was uncultured; its very language was killed to give it birth; but it was strong. The Union was as much the result of its first stirrings as of Lord Clare's and Castlereagh's machinations. Such a force, once born, could never have been contained within the ramshackle machinery which connected Westminster with Dublin Castle.

It may be held also that the success of the Union was never a consummation very much to be wished. Ireland has come through a long night and has paid heavily for her national personality. But the success of the Union would have meant inevitably the strangling of the democratic Irish nation at its birth and as a consequence the almost certain relegation of Ireland to the condition of Wales or of Scotland, whose whole existence as more than geographical expressions may now be said to be in its death-struggle. The time may perhaps come when English historians, more instructed than those of to-day, will lament the crushing out, by England's pathological overgrowth, of elements which under better stars might have helped to build up a stronger, a more diversified and in the truest sense a higher common civilisation in the British islands. In any case, Dr. O'Brien is of course right in his judgment that the postponement for half a lifetime of Catholic Emancipation was the source from which flowed all the disasters that later befell the Union.

Of these disasters and of the whole complex pattern of forces that transformed Ireland during the past century, his little book gives a fascinating sketch. Above all the other misfortunes of Ireland, Dr. O'Brien puts of course the ultimate partition of the nation. Personally, while agreeing entirely with him as to its causes, admiring his masterly analysis thereof, and recognising the very deep-seated character of

the harm that has been done and the very great difficulty of undoing it, I am inclined to think he takes partition a little too tragically. It is true that Ireland has recovered only three and a third of her four green fields, and that this is one of the dominant facts in her present situation. Irish nationalists will never give more than a *de facto* acquiescence to the partition of their country, and the force that has transformed British politics will sooner or later find means to recover its lost territory. But it is an exaggeration to say that Ulster unionism, by forcing partition on the British parliament, "has inflicted a worse blow upon Irish nationalism than if it had succeeded in maintaining the legislative union." The existence for the first time in centuries of an Irish State gives nationalism a weapon far more powerful than anything it possessed heretofore.

Dr. O'Brien insists again and again that the Irish problem is England's problem, and that the six-county government is merely the concentration in one corner of Ireland of the ascendancy that has collapsed everywhere else. This concentration has given it a proportionately greater resisting power, and it has at the moment an almost unconquerable backing in the still strong Protestant sentiment of the British people. Dr. O'Brien's views on all these matters are soundly and clearly argued. By implication he refutes a certain type of Irish as well as British argument which maintains that since the Treaty England in fact has no more to do with the Irish problem. Like Dr. Johnson kicking the stone to refute Berkeley, he might have pointed to the presence of the British army in Ulster, but even of this he has no need. He is more explicit in dealing with another common Irish fallacy, that the six counties can be induced to throw in their lot with the south by the spectacle of good government or of commercial prosperity in the Free State. The unionist government, which he aptly says has anticipated completely the one-party dictatorships of the continent, is not of a character to be impressed even by the most moving or inspiring sight. It can only be ended either by its own free-will, of which there is not the slightest sign, or by British action, which is not to be expected as long as the Protestant prejudice is there to be played on. But "the data of the problem may change again, and any change that takes place is almost certain to be to the disadvantage of the Ulster ascendancy."

There is sometimes evident among nationalists a tendency both to chafe at the limits set by stubborn facts to political action and to speak of the partition question in strangely fatalistic terms. The same slavery to mere formulas which has led to so much talk about the unalterable republic has led also to the broadcasting of the idea that this or that form of action will make partition permanent, or has done so already. A reviewer of Dr. O'Brien's book has stated, for

instance, that the proposition "there can be no coercion of the North-East," a proposition acquiesced in by so many Irish leaders, was an irrevocable abandonment of the first principles of democracy. It was, of course, merely a rather unnecessary statement of fact in present circumstances, and its acceptance as such has no inevitable validity if or when the facts change. The Irish incapacity for political theory is well illustrated by this slavery to half-understood dogmas and this tendency to bind the future by some accident of the present. I dwell on this aspect of the Irish question for so long because it forms the background for the real problem that now confronts nationalists. I do not think Dr. O'Brien has given the best or most far-reaching solution of this problem.

Admitting that partition is for the moment an unchangeable *datum*, what should be Ireland's diplomacy on the other fronts of her relations with Great Britain? I would here emphasise once more a sentence from Dr. O'Brien's book: "The Ulster Unionist would be just as indisposed to throw in his lot with Irish Catholics in a dominion as in a republic." If this be the case, and I think it is, why should Irish nationalists continue to quarrel among themselves any longer about the niceties of dominion status? Why should they not all unite on the one solution that will now finally settle their own internal political problem as well as making possible a real understanding with Great Britain? That solution is the clear and unequivocal establishment of an Irish republic for the area now under Irish control. I have already put forward in the pages of STUDIES arguments for this policy, which it seems to me is demanded by all the logic of our present situation. It is a policy on which all shades of nationalist opinion could unite; it would make partition no more permanent than it is already; it would meet with no British resistance, especially if it had behind it a unanimous national opinion; and it would infallibly lead in a few years to that cordial understanding and co-operation between Ireland and Great Britain which is so desirable not only for peace between themselves but perhaps even for the peace of the world.

Dr. O'Brien rightly deplores the waste of political energy that has so disfigured Free State affairs since 1921, the now ingrained habit of seeing every question through the thick spectacles of party animosity, the materialism in public affairs that has resulted from party competition, the neglect of all the higher values on which nationalist propaganda of every shade laid so much stress in the past. He gives many examples, which every fair-mined judge will recognise as just, of these defects. His book should help to prepare the way towards a saner, more intelligent, and in the real sense more patriotic outlook on our disputes, and towards that unity of opinion between educated nationalists without which both political advance and cultural recovery will remain an empty dream.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

A CONGRESS OF THE PRESS AND TWO EXHIBITIONS

BY REV. STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

At the end of September of this year there was held in Rome the second Congress of Catholic Journalists. A brief account of this Congress, which the present writer attended, may be of interest to readers of Studies. To this account may be joined some notes on two exhibitions held in Rome this year and both closely connected with the Press—*viz.* the World Exhibition of the Catholic Press opened in the Vatican last May and an exhibition of Communist propaganda on view for a few weeks in September.

The Congress of Catholic Journalists took place from September 24th to the 27th, its sessions being held in the Angelicum, the Roman University directed by the Dominican Fathers. It was attended by some 250 delegates representing twenty-eight nations.[1] The attendance would, no doubt, have been larger and more representative were it not for the conditions prevailing in certain Catholic countries.

The main features of the Congress may be stated briefly enough. It consisted in the first place of three important addresses delivered respectively by Cardinal Pacelli, by Count dalla Torre, and by the Holy Father himself; secondly of three papers dealing with particular aspects of Catholic journalism; and thirdly of the work done in Committees.

Cardinal Pacelli's opening address, delivered to a very large audience in the great *aula maxima* of the Angelicum, was a veritable *tour de force*. Speaking in Italian and outlining the work before the Congress he passed in review the various types of adversaries ranged against the Church to-day and consequently against the Church's front-line of defence, the Catholic press, and he held up before the members of the Congress a high ideal of their work and of their rôle. At the end of this address, which made a deep impression by its masterly exposition of the whole question of the Catholic press, Cardinal Pacelli addressed the delegates successively in French, Spanish, Portuguese, English, German, and Latin—all without notes of any kind.

The closing address of Count dalla Torre, Editor of the *Osservatore Romano* and President of the Congress, was a magnificent piece of Italian oratory. Unfortunately I could follow it but imperfectly and no printed report of it seemed to be available. But all who heard

[1] This may be contrasted with the delegates representing 45 European and American nations and 54 countries of Africa, Asia, and Oceania who were present at the opening.

it will recollect with what indignant energy he repudiated the oft-repeated charge that the Catholic press is on the side of the rich and the powerful as against the workers and the poor. After the Congress the members went in a body to the Pope's summer residence at Castel Gandolfo to see the Holy Father. Count dalla Torre in an address voiced the feelings of all, and then the Pope spoke to us for nearly three quarters of an hour. He spoke in an unstudied and informal way ; for, as he told us, it had not been possible for him to prepare a set allocution. But his words were full of fatherly affection, and they were charged with an intense earnestness and solicitude when he spoke of the future of the Catholic press. " The Catholic press," he had said long since, " is my voice " ; and at another time : " The press is the greatest power in the world." And his words now were but an elaboration of those themes.

As for the three principal papers I must endeavour to summarize them very briefly. The first was read (in German) by Father Joseph Pauchard, Editor of the *Freiburger Nachrichten* of Fribourg in Switzerland, on " The Duties of the Catholic Press in the Fight Against Neo-Paganism." This latter to-day takes three principal forms—international bolshevism, national-socialism (as seen in Germany, Holland, and Hungary), and various cults such as theosophy, magic, and so forth. The first two have forged, as an instrument of their propaganda, a perfectly controlled, highly organized, and ably edited press—the first named in particular being, where necessary, cleverly camouflaged so as the better to penetrate into milieux where Christianity is still strong. Press must be fought by press. And, if Catholic journalists wish to know what lines to follow in the combat, they will find them laid down in a long series of Papal Encyclicals : *Qui Pluribus* (Nov. 9, 1886), *Rerum Novarum* (May 16, 1891), *Casti Connubii* (May, 1929) and *Quadragesino Anno* (May, 1931). The speaker advocated as a practical measure the setting up of a central information bureau.

M. Alfred Michelin read a paper in French on the spiritual training of Catholic journalists. A Catholic journalist must first be a Catholic, and to be a true Catholic one must to some extent at least live an interior, spiritual life, seeing that Christianity is essentially a spiritual religion and not a merely outward cult. To ensure something more than a minimum of spiritual life, the writer suggested as desirable : a brief meditation or spiritual reading every day, frequent Communion, a three days enclosed retreat every year, and something in the nature of a sodality or confraternity for strictly religious purposes. The present writer was informed by M. Sante Maggi, Editor of the Milan newspaper *L'Italia*, that in the headquarters of every Italian Catholic journal there is a chapel.

A young Italian journalist, Raimondo Manzini, read the third

paper, "The Catholic Press and the Diffusion and Illustration of Papal Pronouncements." He brought out several practical points. One was that it is not enough for Catholic journalists to publish in their respective periodicals translations of encyclicals, allocutions, and other documents or pronouncements of the Holy See. They should be commented on and explained. For they are written in a style of their own which the "man in the street" does not always find it easy to follow, and they often deal with difficult and controverted matters. He suggested a special bureau for the speedy and reliable diffusion of papal pronouncements.

But interesting and stimulating as were the various addresses and papers, I suspect that the most practical and most lasting work of the Congress was done by the Committees:—"Commission permanente des directeurs de journaux Catholiques," "Bureau international des journalistes Catholiques,[1] and some minor committees appointed for the Congress. Such work, however, is necessarily of a routine nature and its results are far from spectacular. We, the ordinary members of the Congress, were informed of the more important proceedings.

In addition to what has been said there were some interesting communications—in particular a letter of encouragement and greeting from the International Labour Office at Geneva and an account of the *Lettres de Rome* as a means of combating atheistic propaganda.[2]

* * * * *

The World Exhibition of the Catholic Press, organized at the desire of Pope Pius XI and opened by him on May 12th, is quite distinct from the Congress and has with it no other connection than the fact of centering round the same subject. Obviously no adequate account of it can be attempted here. I must confine myself to a few notes and impressions gathered during visits to it. Let us note, in the first place, its limitations. There is about it nothing of the fair or the show in the ordinary sense. It has no side-shows, no amusements, very little display. So that popular appeal is almost wanting. It bears no resemblance to the vast exhibition Pressa held at Cologne some years ago. There are no working models, no machinery, no films, no music, no attractive stalls. It hardly covers so much space as did the Catholic section of that exhibition, for it is all contained within one of the courtyards of the Vatican, the Cortile della Pigna.

On the other hand, for people really interested in the press the exhibition is better without such extraneous "attractions" as I have mentioned. The limited space has been used to good advantage and

[1] Address: 44 Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, VI[e].

[2] Address: Via Carlo Albert 2, Rome (128); annual subscription for foreign countries, 15 lire.

the exhibits, on the whole, are set forth in a striking and often ingenious way. The whole constitutes an object lesson—speaking, as all such lessons should, as much to the eye as to the mind, or rather to the mind through the eye. This end is attained by means of graphs, diagrams, symbolical figures, and so forth, as well as by actual specimens of Catholic newspapers, reviews, and magazines.

The first three or four rooms are devoted to the press in general, its production, its distribution, its publicity methods, the sources of its information. Among other facts the visitor is told that there are in the world 49,883 daily newspapers, of which 24,700 are in Europe and most of the rest (17,800) in America—Asia having 5,800 dailies and Africa only 600. Some 200,000 periodicals were appearing in 1935, whereas in 1898 there were only 52,704 and in 1826 the world managed on a bare 3,210. Every day, we are told, between 150 and 200 millions of people read their newspapers, as against fifty million who listen-in to the radio and thirty millions who see films. So that, if one could judge by figures, it would seem that the press is still the greatest power in the world. It must be added that the press certainly influences opinion in a more definite way than either the radio or the films.

With the exception of a section devoted to the work done by the religious orders in the apostolate of the Catholic press and rooms for Catholic Action Press, the Missionary Press, and a few others, the rest of the Exhibition consists of a series of rooms in which the press of each country in turn is displayed. As it is not possible to deal with each and all of these, I select here and there a few that struck me as of special interest. Were I asked to award the palm for the finest all-round display, I should certainly award it to Holland, with its thirty-four Catholic daily newspapers, its excellent reviews and magazines for all sorts and conditions of people, including comic papers in which Communism is mercilessly satirized, its handsome piece of stained glass throwing light, in more senses than one, on the work of the press, its tasteful arrangement, and so on. In Belgium, where the struggle against Liberalism (of the Continental brand), Socialism, and Communism is very strenuous, the press has a great rôle to play. How keen the contest is may be partly shown by figures. Of the 2,200,000 copies of newspapers printed daily the proportions are :—

Catholic	..	937,000
Hostile	..	563,000
Indifferent	..	700,000

There are thirty Catholic dailies as against thirty-four non-Catholic ; 316 Catholic weeklies as against 298 others. Altogether there are some 800 Catholic reviews and bulletins. One of the features of the

Belgian room is a series of silhouettes of the steeples and church towers of its principal cities with the device " A chaque clocher ses défenseurs."

The Czechoslovakian room is remarkable for its graphs and diagrams. The Czech press had in 1910 a circulation of less than 100,000 : it has a million to-day. There are 23 Catholic newspapers, 34 scientific or cultural reviews, and 51 religious periodicals. There as in Belgium the struggle is very strenuous. The English room has a series of emblematic figures showing the steady growth of the Catholic press from six periodicals in 1835 to 36 in 1885, 165 in 1915, 268 in 1925, 347 to-day. Little countries like Portugal, Switzerland, and Lithuania have quite remarkable displays. One central American Republic has the courage to show its solitary Catholic periodical and nothing else.

One of the most remarkable rooms was that of Spain. In it were shown no less than 83 Catholic dailies including the great *El Debate*, 60 " cultural " reviews, 134 weeklies and 194 monthly publications of Catholic Action. Alas ! of all this fine effort scarcely anything remains, for it centered mainly in Madrid and Barcelona. And this brings me to another and very different exhibition—an offset, one might almost say a corrective, to the first. I mean the exhibition of Communist propaganda held in the Institute known as the Russicum for some weeks in September.

For here we see the other side of the deadly struggle which was being waged by voice and pen long before it broke into actual war. And if the display of the Spanish Catholic press is one of the finest, that of the anti-religious press in Spain is one of the most terrible. On one of the walls of the principal exhibition room in the Russicum were several large maps of Spain, each of them showing some special aspect of the war against religion which was waged with ever-increasing intensity from 1931 to the present day. One showed the spread of Communism, a second the anti-religious press, a third the churches burned before the civil war broke out. This third map, giving the location by provinces of 347 churches burned between the 16th February last and the 19th of July, the date on which revolt at last broke out, shows one of the effects of which the first two (and the accompanying exhibit) show the causes. The anti-religious press (prensa antireligiosa is the term used) is classified as Communist, Socialist, Anarchist, Syndicalist and " Burguesa " (bourgeois), and the title and location of each paper is given. Beneath are specimen copies of many of these papers and of the abominable literature in the shape of popular Communistic novels, books holding up the clergy to execration, pornographic books, etc., etc. —all which helps to explain the savagery of the Red mobs. The sickle and the hammer are much in evidence, and the Communist organs openly glory in being thoroughly Russian.

The Mexican books and reviews were even more horrible. They

included the disgusting "comic" paper of Canabal entitled *Cristo Rey*. In the Argentine an immense effort is being put forth, on the one hand by the Communists, on the other by Anarchists and Syndicalists. There was a manual with the title Practice of Irreligious Education for primary schools and workingmen's night schools. And there was a very ample display of papers and periodicals of all kinds.

The collection of English and American Communist propaganda comprised an astonishing number and variety of periodicals, pamphlets, and books. It ranged from *The Fight* ("against superstition, clericalism and cultural reaction"), organ of the League of Socialist Freethinkers, and the *Daily Worker*, organ of the Communist Party to *Cambridge Left*, *Labour Research*, and the *Communist Review*. In the midst of all this was our modest Irish contribution to the cause—the five or six papers published at present or recently in Dublin, books and pamphlets by Seán Murray, Brian O'Neill, and other exponents of Communism. It should be remembered that the entire Communist Press of Great Britain is at the disposal of the Communist propagandists here in Ireland.

As for Russia itself, we are informed that in the U.S.S.R. there are published 10,000 newspapers, all Communist of course, in 86 languages, with a circulation of 37 million copies. Personally I have had sent to me direct from Moscow unsolicited specimen copies of attractively produced periodicals in English. Among the best known Moscow papers for export are the *Moscow Daily News* and *Le Journal de Moscou*. Moscow relies largely for propaganda purposes on series of cheap publications such as the *Classiques du Marxisme* (over 24 million copies printed) and Children's literature (32 million copies printed). Its posters, however, with their blasphemies and obscenities, are not for export and to exhibit them to Western Europeans, as was done at the Russicum, is to do a distinct disservice to their authors. It might also be a disservice to some of those who should view it. So let me add that the exhibition just described was private and admission to it was by invitation only. But to those who saw it, even to those of them who already knew much about Bolshevist propaganda, it was a painful revelation.

In face of this persistent and incessant activity of the enemies of religion, it is disheartening to see on the part of Catholics so much apathy and indifference, so little readiness to support the Catholic press which, for all its weaknesses and shortcomings, is fighting—often against desperate odds—the battle of Christianity.

If the Congress and the two Exhibitions have done anything to arouse apathetic and indifferent Catholics to action, they have done good work.

STEPHEN J. BROWN

THE POPULAR FRONT IN SPAIN AND FRANCE

BY REV. FRANCIS JOY, S.J.

UNDER the war-cry of the United or Popular Front, the Communists profess to be rallying against a common enemy called "Fascism." In Communist literature "Fascism" is a somewhat ambiguous term. It is applied, of course, to the Italian form of government. But at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in 1935 Dimitroff, the famous hero of the Reichstag Fire Trial and now the General Secretary of the Comintern, raised "Fascism" into the position of Enemy No. 1 of Communism. It is necessary to have a rallying cry, a slogan; and the slogan for Communists now is: "Unite against Fascism." At the World Congress just mentioned Dimitroff said: "The most reactionary type of Fascism is the German type" (p. 6).* But the Spanish Catholics under Gil Robles were "Fascists," and so were the Spanish Socialists under Basteiro—leader of the Right Wing (the leader of the Left Wing is, of course, Largo Caballero). For Stalin "the Social Democrats and the Fascists are twins," while for M. J. Olgin, author of *Trotskyism* (p. 151), "the Russian Fascists and the former leader of the October Revolution, Leon Trotsky, speak the same language." And just as we are writing these lines (November 13) comes the news that yet another great trial is about to be staged in Moscow—the culprits this time being "Fascists." For Dimitroff—and he ought to know as he is the inventor or inspirer of the slogan—"Fascism is the power of finance capital itself" (p. 7).

Before formulating the new tactic or plan of campaign, Dimitroff asks the question why Fascism has triumphed in certain countries, and answers that it is because the Social Democrats divided the workers and betrayed them at the decisive moment of the struggle. For instance, the establishment of a "Fascist" Government in Germany was due to the Social Democratic policy of "collaboration with the bourgeoisie" (p. 6). But, as we shall see, Dimitroff's Popular Front does seek collaboration with certain elements of the bourgeoisie.

In the Communist or Dimitroff plan of campaign a distinction is made between the United Front and the Popular Front. The United Front seeks to unite the whole working class, and only the working class. The Popular Front has a wider embrace; it includes the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie, the "left" Catholics—all, in fact, who are prepared to unite in a common effort against the common enemy, Fascism. The policy is one of peaceful penetration;

* All quotations from Dimitroff's report are taken from the edition published by the Workers Library Publishers in October 1935 (New York).

and the final aim is, of course, the complete triumph of Communism—as set forth in *The Communist* of April 1936 (p. 365): "The final aim of the United Front is the building of the communist or collectivist society. As a requisite for the building of this society, the proletariat must 'conquer power through the fiercest struggle against the bourgeoisie,' must organize itself as the ruling class—*i.e.* must establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to achieve the revolutionary transformation from Capitalism to Communism. But in order to organize itself as the ruling class, the proletariat must not be satisfied with taking possession of the bourgeois State . . . it must seek the destruction of the bourgeois State and its replacement by the Soviet republic, the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The United Front is essentially a plan of action. Beginning with united action on a trade union basis, it will after a period develop into political unity—culminating ultimately in the formation of Soviets. The campaign will usually evolve in three phases: (1) "shifting the consequences of the economic crisis on to the shoulders of the rich"; (2) joint action for "the liquidation of bourgeois-democratic liberties"; (3) fighting against "imperialist war." Other methods of attack will suggest themselves as the campaign develops. But the development must always tend "to prepare the transition from the defensive to the offensive against Capital, steering towards the organization of the mass political strike" (p. 33). The immediate needs of the workers are to be exploited to draw the workers away from their present leaders and bring them under the influence of the Communist agitators—and so "help them to free themselves from the hold of reformist ideology" (p. 103)—*i.e.* the ideology of moderate Socialism or of Social Democracy. The strategy is not to bring Communism down to the plane of Social Democracy and thereby effect some form of reconciliation or synthesis. No, the strategy is to lift Social Democracy, slowly but surely, on to the plane of Communism. It will take time, and it will not be effected by the conversion of the leaders. The United Front is a movement "par le bas"; it seeks its ends by indoctrinating the rank and file to such an extent that the leaders must either yield to the demands of their followers or see the latter pass from under their control into the fold of Communism.

As regards the Popular Front, in attempting to organize it, Communists will not seek, at least openly and aggressively, to make converts to their creed. They will respect the views—religious, national, political, economic—of those prepared to unite with them against Fascism. That is what they profess and, as we know, the Communists have no difficulty in making hypocritical professions of righteousness, peace, democracy, love of justice—no difficulty in using any means

to secure their ends. If they are prepared to co-operate with other parties and classes, it is because they hope to be the operative leaven in the united mass.

In this process of leavening, a stage will be reached when the United or Popular Front, if it cannot yet with certainty of success proceed to a revolution, can at least take over the Government. The question then is : May the Communists, the implacable enemies of " bourgeois democracy," participate ? Yes, says Dimitroff (p. 66), in certain circumstances. They may participate in a Government pledged to fight " Fascism and reaction," pledged to put no limit to Communist " activity," pledged to take drastic action against the " magnates " of high finance and industry. But these pledges, if they are to be carried out, postulate a serious political crisis. The apparatus of the State must be sufficiently disorganized to prevent the " reactionary " elements from impeding the formation of a United Front Government. Large masses of the people and especially the trade unions, though not yet won over to the idea of armed revolution under Communist direction, must be sufficiently " worked up " to see that the only solution of the existing crisis is a United Front Government. Whoever opposes this solution is, of course, a Fascist ; and the Communist way of dealing with him would be to shoot him, but the education of the United Front has not yet reached that stage of development. No doubt, under the skilful training of its Communist schoolmasters, it will ultimately reach this stage. In the meantime, the whole strategy of the United Front is a good example of first troubling the waters and of then fishing in them. Listen to the advice of Comrade Dimitroff : " We want the Communists of each country to draw and apply all the lessons that can be drawn from their own experience as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. We want them to learn how to sail on the turbulent waters of the class struggle—and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather " (p. 91).

Let us now see the United or Popular Front in action in Spain and France. The real makers of the Spanish Republic in 1931 were the Freemasons—not the Socialists, Anarchists or Communists—but all these, of course, thoroughly approved the downfall of the Monarchy and the establishment of the Republic ; and they were only too happy to co-operate with the Freemasons in an immediate attack on the common enemy, the Catholic Church. The *Liga Anticlerical Revolucionaria* was founded and affiliated to the International of Proletarian Freethinkers. On its programme were such items as the separation of Church and State, the expulsion of the Jesuits, the laicisation of the schools, the active propagation of atheism and Marxist materialism. The Left Republicans and Socialists wished to conduct the religious

persecution in a constitutional way—through legislation. But that is not the way of the Communists or the Anarchists ; they believe in prompt and revolutionary action. Just a month after the declaration of the Republic the burning of churches began. In the May Day celebrations scenes of disorder developed, which called for the intervention of the Civil Guard. Immediately the Communists demanded the disarmament of the Civil Guard, the right of the " people " to arm, the setting up of revolutionary tribunals. Then followed an epidemic of strikes, culminating in widespread disturbances. Arrests were made ; the prisoners went on hunger-strike ; manifestations of protest were organized, during which (July 18) a Communist was killed. At the funeral there were further disturbances and more deaths. The Communists called for a 48 hour strike of protest against the action of the police. It is to be noted that these strikes were not for economic but political ends and that there was nothing haphazard about them. They were all according to plan—the Communist plan, not the Socialist plan. Indeed, they were exploited by the Communists to discredit the Socialist leaders in the eyes of their followers. The international Communist Press did not fail to present its readers with a double picture of the Spanish situation : on the one side it painted, in lurid colours, the miserable plight of the workers ; on the other side it showed the Socialist leaders as, in their capacity of Cabinet Ministers, supporting the bourgeoisie rather than the proletariat. Henceforth the aim of the Communists will be the seizure of the governmental machine ; and all strikes, manifestations and exorbitant demands will be directed to this end.

It is unnecessary to pursue the story step by step. In 1933 began the tactic of forcibly occupying lands—the Spanish antecedent of the French stay-in strike—and by June of that year the Communists were claiming to have seized 311 properties. To defend these properties against their rightful owners and to embarrass the Government in any attempt at restitution, the Communists proceeded to form a sort of irregular militia. All this time Azana & Co., supreme doctrinaires, were fiddling over constitutional points and anti-religious legislation, while Spain was burning. They made no serious attempt to solve the land problem, a real ulcer in the Spanish body politic. In the meantime the Catholics, whose eyes were gradually opening to the gravity of the situation, anticipated the Communists in the formation of a united front. The result was that in the elections of November 1933 the Left suffered a crushing defeat. The figures of the votes polled by each Party were : Right, 3,345,000 ; Centre, 1,351,000 ; Socialists, 1,627,000 ; Communists, 195,217. The Socialists, alarmed by the successes of the Right, henceforth sponsored " united action " ; and in the course of a few months a Workers' Alliance was formed

under the leadership of the Socialists. In this Alliance the Communists were not originally included ; but early in 1934 they joined—reserving, however, "liberty of action," which can be a very disconcerting liberty as interpreted by the Communists. In view of more recent events in France, the minimum programme of the Spanish Communists is interesting. It included the confiscation of property without compensation, the disarmament of "counter-revolutionary" forces, the arming of the "workers and peasants," the control of production and of banks, a forty-hour week with pay for forty-eight hours, the annulment of all debts owed to banks by peasants, autonomy for Catalonians, Basques and others.

Though the Right or Catholic Party, under the leadership of Gil Robles, had by far the biggest majority in the Cortes, no member of it received a portfolio in the new Government for several months ; and when at length the Prime Minister was forced to redress this injustice by the admission of a few members into his Cabinet, his action was the signal for the Socialist rebellion of October 1934. As the full story of this rebellion has been already told in STUDIES (March 1935), it is unnecessary to go into any details. In any case we are concerned with it only in so far as it influenced the future Popular Front. With unexpected vigour the aged Lerroux crushed the rebellion, and the Communists experienced their first serious set-back. Analysing their failure afterwards, they found it due to certain reasons which, in view of the present situation in France, are of interest. These reasons were published in the *Communist International* of November 20, 1934 :—(1) The Spanish proletariat was too much under the influence of the Anarchist and Socialist chiefs, who lacked decision and organizing power (this was the fundamental reason) ; (2) the peasants had not been sufficiently "worked up" (this was especially true of those districts—outside Asturias—where Anarchist and Socialist chiefs held command ; (3) the nationalist movement in Catalonia was predominantly bourgeois (this defect seems to have been radically corrected in the present Civil War) ; (4) the army had not been sufficiently indoctrinated and won over to the workers' side ; (5) there was a general lack of organization (a characteristic defect of the liberty-loving Anarchists—and one frequently mentioned in connection with the present Civil War).

From the course of events one thing became clear : the Left—Radicals, Socialists, Anarchists, Communists—would have no chance of success in the coming elections unless they formed some sort of union ; "united we stand, divided we fall." And so the *Frente Popular* was formed. The three chief builders of this Popular Front were Azana, Caballero and Prieto—three men whose political genius every Party recognizes. At the elections of last February the *Frente Popular*

went into action and won a decisive victory—251 seats as against 133 for the Right and 64 for the Centre. Azana was allowed to form a "bourgeois" Government; neither Socialists nor Communists participated—the latter, as usual, reserving "liberty of action." What this liberty of action meant soon became apparent. Almost immediately a reign of lawlessness was inaugurated. There was no security for either person or property. Churches and convents were, of course, the chief objects of attack. The following is the list of outrages committed between February 16 and June 16, 1936, which was read out in the Cortes by Gil Robles: Killed, 269; injured, 1287; churches destroyed, 160; churches damaged, 251; political clubs destroyed, 69; political clubs damaged, 312; general strikes, 113; partial strikes, 228; newspaper offices destroyed, 10; newspapers offices damaged, 33; armed robberies, 138. Things were moving fast; and by the beginning of July various rumours of impending *coups de force* were in circulation. One rumour said that the *coup de force* was to be struck by the extreme Left and that the date fixed for it was July 18; the other rumour said that the *coup* was to be struck by the extreme Right or the Army. On July 17 the latter did strike. As the seriousness of the revolution grew, the original *Frente Popular* Government underwent various changes, until it has now become, if not in name, at least in fact the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—which was the hope and ambition of Dimitroff when he invented his plan of Popular Fronts.

Let us now turn to France, the country which—as Dimitroff confesses—inspired the principles of the new tactic. In the post-war disillusionment the revolutionary movement grew rapidly in France: between 1918 and 1920 the S.F.I.O. (Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière) increased its membership from 34,000 to 168,000, while the ancillary C.G.T. (Confédération générale du Travail) had an even more spectacular increase. The Second International had collapsed during the War, and the problem for French Socialists was whether they should seek affiliation with the Third International (founded at Moscow in 1919) or reconstruct the Second International. Delegates were sent to Moscow to reconnoitre, and they came back with a formidable list of twenty-one conditions to be accepted before Moscow would accede to a request for affiliation. Some of the French Socialists, led by Blum and Boncour, were for rejecting the Moscow conditions. A second party, led by the returned delegates Cachin and Frossard, were for accepting them. At the Tours Congress of 1920 the voting was: for joining the Third International, 3,208; for reconstructing the Second International, 1,022. Feverish efforts were being made to prevent a break in the Socialist ranks, when a telegram arrived from Moscow demanding the exclusion of the "reformist element." The

split was accomplished. The ejected sections joined forces under the old name of S.F.I.O., while the Communist element (in obedience to one of the Moscow conditions) adopted the name S.F.I.C. (Section française de l'Internationale communiste). At the same time the C.G.T. was also split—the separatists retaining the old name, while the Communists adopted the name C.G.T.U. (Conféderation générale du Travail unitaire).

The Communists were soon to learn that they had achieved a very doubtful victory : almost immediately their members began to desert to the S.F.I.O. The various attempts to stop the leakage need not detain us. Nothing effective was accomplished until, in 1932, Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland launched the idea of a world union against Fascism—afterwards to be known as the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement. By the beginning of 1933 this movement, though officially condemned by the S.F.I.O., counted 8,000 members of that Party in France. The second congress of the movement was held in Paris, June 1933, in the Salle Pleyel. There was a large attendance of Socialists, and a Socialist presided—with the Communist chief, M. Cachin, on his right. In November the National Council of the S.F.I.O. decreed the exclusion of all members adhering to the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement. The leaders may be obdurate ; but the mass is being gradually leavened and the United Front is taking definite shape.

In February 1934 the official attitude of the Socialists showed signs of weakening. December had brought the Stavisky scandal, involving Ministers and Deputies. There was a stormy session of the Chamber of Deputies on February 6, when the report of the Parliamentary Commission was published and the Daladier Ministry fell. Serious riots followed, and it looked as if the climax would be a revolution—not one led by the Socialists and Communists, but by their common enemy the "Fascists." On February 9 a Communist manifestation was held to protest against "the Fascist menace" : the casualty list was 4 killed and 202 injured. This gave occasion for the usual form of Communist protest : a general strike. During the remainder of the year various negotiations were conducted and various attempts were made to elaborate a pact of united action. The Communist leaven is working.

In February 1935, at the suggestion of the Socialist Party, 100,000 "antifascists" held a manifestation "to honour the dead of February 1934." Again, on July 14 another big "antifascist" demonstration was staged at Montrouge. Between 8,000 and 10,000 delegates attended, representing 97 Left organizations. In the evening a gigantic procession was marshalled, headed by the Tricolour and the Red Flag, while the crowd sang alternately the Marseillaise and the Internationale.

Before breaking up this assembly appointed a Commission to draft a form of constitution and a programme of action for the *Front Populaire*.

The findings of this Commission were published in January 1936. It was decided that the *Front Populaire* was not to be a Party under unified control, but a centre of liaison in which the component Parties, while remaining autonomous, would unite to fight "Fascism." Each Party would join in this common action without sacrificing any of its principles or particular ends. In the coming elections each Party would present its own candidates on its own programme at the first ballot. But at the second ballot, out of the unelected candidates of the *Front Populaire*, only the candidate who showed the best chance of election would go forward.

By this tactic the *Front Populaire* won a majority at the elections of last May. But the most significant feature of these elections has been the process by which the Communists have become the grand beneficiaries of the *Front Populaire*. They have now 72 seats, where they had only 10, and they have jumped from sixteenth place to third place in numerical strength among the political Parties of France. This increase has been won largely at the expense of their allies. For instance, they have taken 12 seats from the S.F.I.O.; 9 seats from the Radical-Socialists; 7 seats from the Socialist and Republican Union; 2 seats from the dissenting Communists.

On May 11 M. Blum, proposing to put the *Front Populaire* programme into action, invited the Communist Party to share the responsibility of government. On May 14 they declined—preferring to retain their "freedom of action," which they very soon proceeded to exercise. Already in May the stay-in strike movement threw French industry into chaos and seriously embarrassed the Government; but the movement won a number of concessions for the workers: a 40 hour week, an annual paid holiday, and a 12 per cent. increase of wages. The economic life of France, which had been for some time in a parlous condition, was gravely affected by these sudden impositions. M. Blum was then forced, contrary to his original declarations and to the great annoyance of the *Front Populaire*, to devalue the franc. Economic conditions left him no choice. But the growls of that Cerberus, the *Front Populaire*, continue to increase: a bone is thrown to it in the form of drastic changes in the constitution of the Bank of France. M. Blum, the first Socialist Prime Minister of France, is not in a happy position; he has now learned the age-old lesson of politics: when in opposition, it is easy to make promises; when in office, it is difficult to fulfil them.

Dimitroff compares the United Front tactic to the Trojan horse. That horse has already been introduced into Spain and France. With what fatal result for Spain we learn day by day. With what fatal result for France we may learn to-morrow.

FRANCIS JOY

REVIEWS

Ascetics and Asceticism

THE DESERT FATHERS. Translations from the Latin by Helen Waddell. London : Constable. 1936. 7s. 6d. net.

THE MONKS OF ATHOS. By R. M. Dawkins. London : Allen and Unwin. 1936. 15s. net.

THESE two books, delightful in different ways, are linked together by continuity of interest, though the periods of time with which they deal lie far apart. Miss Waddell's little work is a sort of "back-projection" from her interest in medieval Latin literature and in the legends of Western saints. It is an anthology of pieces relating to the lives and sayings of the first great Egyptian anchorites, translated from sources like St. Jerome's life of St. Paul, Rufinus's history of the Monks of Egypt, Pelagius, Cassian, and others—sources which the translator takes from Rosweyde's Antwerp edition of 1615, and her translations of which represent only a fragment of that "vast collection."

Her introduction has all the learning, grace, and charm that one expects from the author of *The Wandering Scholars.* She begins with an account of the famous life of St. Antony by Athanasius and its immense influence not alone on contemporaries but on all Europe until it attracted the queer attentions even of Flaubert and Anatole France. Harnack speaks of its effect as *verdummend*, stultifying; but it is possible that future generations will find other, equally harsh, adjectives to apply to the attitude towards it of the Romantic Age and its continuation into Harnack's lifetime. Gibbon and Lecky summed up one side of this attitude in the phrases of lofty contempt wherewith they lumped all monks together and attributed to them in their joint capacity the extravagances of St. Simeon the Stylite. The other side is the curiosity of the novelists, pathological and peering. Gibbon and Lecky had authentic ancestors in Roman pagans like Rutilius Namatianus, whom Miss Waddell quotes; Flaubert and France were entirely *sui temporis.*

Miss Waddell's own work and the publications of others like the late Sir Wallis Budge are an indication that the world is once more perhaps beginning to appreciate the motives that made men fly from it so numerously in the fourth century. The stories of the desert Fathers, legendary and simple though they are, represent, as Miss Waddell very justly notes, an abiding element in Christianity, which in the example of such heroic retreats answered the questions that earnest-minded pagans, from Socrates down, had long been vainly asking. It is not for nothing that a certain kinship with the pagan sages strikes the reader of these lives and sayings; for Christian

asceticism was what more than anything else restored the savour that pagan life had lost. The Egyptian anchorites, like those of Ireland later, were not philosophers, nor theologians, nor had they any belief in or appreciation of literary style, as St. Jerome's controversy with Rufinus illustrates for us. "The richness of the records is in their kindness, their selflessness, their humbleness." They could pity even the Devil himself, and he is represented as powerless against their gentleness and humility. Even the legendary element in their histories is the sign of a new innocence. Everything about Miss Waddell's book has its own delicate impressiveness, not least her brief sketches of the writers whose pious work she has revivified for a wide public.

Professor Dawkins gives us yet another book on Mount Athos to add to the many of very unequal value that have recently appeared. As he is easily the most learned neo-Hellenist in England, as well as being an archaeologist of note who has been all over Athos several times, there can be no doubt that his book, written with disarming and altogether unnecessary modesty, will long be studied as authoritative as well as being read for sheer pleasure. He began it as a collection of Athos legends, but found it to grow under his hands as he was wisely led to add what he calls "arid" accounts of the life of the monks and the constitution of the monasteries. The only fault the general reader can possibly find with it is that he may sometimes go astray amid its luxuriance of detail; and of course the monastic legends generally tend to conform to the same not very numerous series of types or patterns. But what may be a slight embarrassment for the non-specialist will give added value to the book for those who seek solid information imparted in a highly sympathetic yet sometimes ironical style. The book will be a particular treasure for hagiographers, and indispensable to the student of Orthodox and general Eastern monachism.

What strikes the reader most forcibly is the remarkable tenacity and fertility of the oriental monastic tradition. The earliest monastery in the strict sense on Athos seems to date only from the time of St. Athanasius the Athonite, in the tenth century. Legend of course brings the story much farther back, even to the emperor Constantine himself. There seem to be good grounds for believing that the Muslim conquest of Egypt and Syria sent many refugees from their deserts to Athos. It is curious, though it seems to have escaped the notice of Professor Dawkins, that the names for two kinds of secondary Athonite communities, *sketai* and *kellia*, are derived from the names given to regions in the Wâdi-an-Natrûn in Egypt which were famous for their hermits in the fourth century. On Athos, these communities are among the latest in date, mostly belonging to quite modern times;

but they represent a revival of an Egyptian type. The great monasteries, twenty in number, either follow the rule laid down by Theodore of Studion in the eighth century, or have adopted the modern "idiorrhythmic" system.

Athos, of course, is not all Greek; some of its most famous monasteries are Servian, Bulgarian, or Russian; and one, called Ivíron, was once Georgian. Before 1917 there was constant aggression from the Russians, who tried to acquire more and more control; now the Russian monks are only a dying remnant, and Greek nationalism is in danger of destroying the "catholicity" of the Holy Mount. Professor Dawkins gives us, besides numerous foundation-legends, many details about the life, ritual, and government of the monks, and many stories about persecution by iconoclasts, Arabs, Turks, and last but not least by the Pope himself, who is actually represented in paintings as present on Athos and presiding over preparations for torture! He describes many famous and miraculous icons, among which one type, known as the *Phoverá Prostasía* or "Dreadful Presentation," would seem to be the origin of the widespread modern Latin devotion to Our Lady of Perpetual Succour. The book is unfortunately only sparsely illustrated, although the sketches of his brother-monks by Niphon of Kapsokalyvia are themselves a treasure. M. T.

LES SAINTS IRLANDAIS HORS D'IRLANDE. Étudiés dans le culte et dans la dévotion traditionelle. By Dom Louis Gougaud, O.S.B. Louvain: Bureau de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique; Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1936. Pp. 218.

In his admirable work *Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity*, which appeared in 1923, Dom Gougaud entitled the second part "The Place of the Irish Saints in Continental Folklore." The section occupied fifty-three pages. He has now expanded it into a large book, full of interest and as remarkable for learning and sound judgment as anything that has come from his pen.

The saints dealt with number forty-four, of whom thirty-three are certainly Irish. As the claims of the remaining eleven as to an Irish origin is incapable of proof, warning is conveyed in each heading by an asterisk. Very fittingly the last chapter treats of the glorious name by which Ireland was distinguished in mediaeval times, "Insula Sanctorum" (Cf. "The Isle of Saints" by the same author in Studies, September, 1924), a title which the whole book does much to explain and justify. We must quote in this context the profound sentence: "In the last analysis it is to the superior religious ideal of a very great number of those Irish ascetics, hermits, recluses, monks and missionaries, and to the intrinsic excellence of their work, that the unexampled enthusiasm which they excited in Western Europe owes it origin."

From a scholar, like Dom Gougaud, of highly developed critical temperament this is indeed a flattering tribute.

As is only to be expected, the most prominent of our Irish saints, Patrick, Brigid and Colmcille, were the best known abroad. With these must be classed two others of slightly lesser note, St. Brendan of Clonfert and St. Columban of Luxeuil, the former famous for his legendary voyages, the latter for his mighty contribution to the religious life of Gaul and Italy. Next to these, in the impression made upon Catholic Europe, come St. Gall, St. Fursa and St. Kilian of Würzburg.

The cult of St. Patrick spread widely in Great Britain and on the Continent. As far away as Styria in Austria side-chapels in his honour may still be found in parish churches. Amid propagators of his fame the chief were the early Irish missionaries in France and Germany; and, in later days, the Augustinian Canons, whose interest in the task originated in their wardenship of St. Patrick's Purgatory in Loch Derg. That the popularity of this renowned place of pilgrimage helped to keep St. Patrick continually "in the news" is likewise obvious.

St. Brigid's appeal to the plain people of Catholic Europe is yet more extraordinary. Her cult is found in England, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, the north of France, Belgium, the Rhineland, Alsace, South Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Italy. Irish monks and savants, of course, made propaganda on her behalf. Thus we hear that a relic of the Saint of Kildare was placed in the altar of St. Columban at St. Gall. A mantle said to be hers is treasured in the Cathedral at Bruges. But her strongest claim to veneration lay undoubtedly in her connection with farmyard affairs, the simple, daily life of country people everywhere. She was revered as the perfect milkmaid. In Belgium, down to comparatively recent times, the ejaculation "God and St. Brigid bless you" was common on milkers' lips when entering a cowshed. Through the Saint's intercession there was reason to hope for a better milk-yield.

St. Colmcille, very naturally, was honoured chiefly in Scotland. Even into the 19th century he figured prominently in the religious folklore of the Highlands and the Western Isles. Through the latter his influence spread to Sweden; whilst it was felt, too, in England, France and Germany. His name became attached, in the strangest fashion, to certain superstitious practices—charms against storms, fire and the depredations of rats. St. Fiacre, perhaps suffered a greater indignity when he became associated in the popular mind with the cure of hemorrhoids and yet more unpleasant physical disorders.

The appendices, which number five, give added testimony to the immense erudition which went to the making of this book. By it Dom Gougaud has increased his already great claim to affection and gratitude in Ireland. J.R.

THE FIRE OF LOVE. Being a Translation of the *Incendium Amoris* of Richard Rolle, Hermit, by G. C. Heseltine. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1935. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Heseltine's version of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* is more than capable and adequate, it is artistic. Without any Wardour Street archaism he gives us the distinct flavour of those days when Chaucer was young. And yet how modern the Hermit of Hampolis is in the following outburst :—

" Finally those women of our time deserve to be reproved who have devised new finery, both for the head and for the body, in such variety as well as with surprising vanity, and have worn the contrivance to the horror and stupefaction of those who behold them. For not only do they parade, against the sentence of the apostle, in gold and embroidered hair, behaving proudly and wantonly ; but they even place on their heads great horns of frightful size, composed of hairs other than their own, contrary to human propriety and the nature instituted by God. Some of them, being concerned to hide their foulness or increase their good looks, paint their faces with faked and fraudulent dye—to colour and whiten them. Both men and women also wear clothes cut in a new fashion, not considering what is becoming to nature but what the new vanity of gossip introduces at the suggestion of the devil."

One of the great characteristics of this group of spiritual writers is their intense practical English character. Unlike the later school of Tauler and Eckhart, they rarely indulge in speculation or attempt to construct mystical theology. They are psychologists rather than metaphysicians, as can be seen in this work as well as in the anonymous *Cloud of Unknowing.*

In another way these works are useful to us : they enable us to see the evolution of English spirituality before the Tudor earthquake, and they will help the Irish Celi De to appreciate his Saxon opposite number. And they contain more than a few wrinkles most useful to modern folk who are seeking God in prayer.

Mr. Heseltine in his Introduction is a bit severe on merely speculative students of mysticism. Perhaps I am prejudiced, but I seemed to " sense " a sublimation of the Podsnap complex ! All the same I am more inclined to agree than disagree with him in his views, and I have heartily enjoyed his translation of a really outstanding spiritual work. John Howley

SELBST-VERLEUGNUNG. Eine aszetische Monographie. Von E. Raitz von Frentz, S.J. Einsiedeln : Benziger. 1936. Fr. 5.80.

Perhaps the two best-known handbooks of ascetical teaching by modern authors are Tanquerey's *Précis de Théologie ascétique et mystique*

and Zimmermann's *Lehrbuch der Aszetik*. The aim of these is to be absolutely complete; and so wide is the field which they must consequently cover that each section is confined rigidly within its allotted minimum of space. They thus present conclusions rather than discussions. To find fuller treatment of important points and problems it is necessary to turn to other works.

Among treatises of the latter kind the monograph recently published by Father Raitz von Frentz deserves an honoured place. Its subject is self denial, called by older writers commonly "mortification" and by contemporaries, especially of non-Catholic schools, more vaguely "the government of self," "the reform of self," "the education of the will," "the orientation of the soul." In honesty we must admit that in this case the emphasis has always tended to fall on the means rather than on the end, so that the term "self-denial" rings truer than the longer expressions.

Father Raitz von Frentz is at once a psychologist, a theologian and an experienced spiritual director. He is also deeply versed in ascetical literature and has an adequate command of method and language. From every point of view, therefore, the quality of his book is extremely high.

Having defined what is meant by self-denial, he goes on to show the part played by the principle in the religious life of all nations—among idolators, Mahommedans, Jews as well as among Christians. Coming to the last-mentioned, he cites the teaching and example of Christ and His Apostles, and describes how Catholic teaching and practice were rejected by the Protestants. He explains the psychology of self-denial, the source from which it springs in the human soul, its proper and improper use, its great advantages.

Without humility it is impossible to renounce oneself; hence many pages are devoted to this fundamental virtue. Renunciation cannot be intense where the sense of sinfulness is absent; accordingly compunction, contrition, confession, the habit of regular examinations of conscience, external works of penance, in their manifold forms, are inculcated and justified. Illustrations are drawn from the whole history of the Church, not least from the lives of the Irish Saints, with which Father von Frentz shows himself quite familiar. The place of pain and suffering in life is next discussed. Finally there comes a chapter on heroic self-denial, in which perfect Indifference, the Third Degree of Humility in the Exercises of Saint Ignatius, is distinguished sharply from the Apathy of the Stoics and the Passivity of many mystics. The thoroughness with which difficult and delicate questions are everywhere handled is very satisfactory.

On the whole it would be hard to deal more ably than is done in this book with the rock foundation of Catholic piety. J. R.

Biography

MERE MARIE DE LA PASSION et les Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie. Par Georges Goyau. Paris : Editions Spes. 1935. pp. 396. frs. 15.

The Franciscan Missionaries of Mary are indeed to be congratulated on having secured so accomplished a writer as M. Goyau as historian of their Institute. We are all acquainted with the sentimentalities and trivialities that disfigure so many histories of Congregations of women, however admirable in themselves. In this solid volume, written at once with perfect literary taste and the fullest literary appreciation of his theme, the distinguished Academician, whose patriotic interest in French missions is well known, has related the birth and upgrowth of one of the most remarkable missionary enterprises of our time. For within the space of barely sixty years this young Congregation has founded 271 convents and can boast a membership of some 7,000 professed Sisters. The white habit and grey cloak of the Franciscan Missionaries are known indeed all the world over.

To a spontaneous growth so impressive two main causes seem to have contributed. The first was the definite nature of the vocation to which the Sisters were called : it was to evangelise the heathen, to carry the word of God to the uttermost parts of the earth. To this all their religious and technical training was consciously and methodically directed. Perhaps women, more than men, require a concrete aim for the full expansion of their religious life. Certainly in this case the response was amazingly prompt and international. It is worth noting that the Institute is the first purely missionary order to be founded and ruled by a woman.

The second cause was, undoubtedly, the wisdom of the foundress in hitching her new and unstable little community—a protesting offshoot from a well-established Congregation—to the great Franciscan order. It thus acquired from the first a background and a spiritual tradition of inestimable value and one that Marie de la Passion deeply appreciated, thanks to her early novitiate among the Poor Clares. Both the Italian Father-General and the French Definitor-General afforded her the most generous help, both spiritual and material. It was their Franciscan vocation that gave the Sisters their ready detachment, their promptness to undertake the most unpromising tasks, and the really heroic courage that resulted in seven of them enduring martyrdom in a remote province of China. As M. Goyau unfolds his story of foundations in rapid succession in India and Ceylon, in Tunis and the Congo, in China and Canada, one marvels both at the means and the organisation that rendered possible a favourable response to requests so diverse.

In effect, the real inspiration of the Institute came direct from Mère Marie de la Passion herself, a Breton by birth, with the strong mystical strain of her race, combined with a quite unusual power of organisation, a woman who inspired immediate confidence in almost all she came in contact with. "An energetic, frank, active, intelligent soul," wrote Père Raphael d'Aurillac of her, after a few days acquaintance in Rome. Her competence was immediately obvious; but the intensity of her faith and her splendid spirit of sacrifice were revealed in their fullness only to her community in the five volumes of "Liturgical and Franciscan Meditations," which in the course of years she composed as a guide to her religious in their daily meditations, volumes from which M. Goyau has been privileged to quote freely. Through these and through innumerable personal letters to her Sisters the foundress maintained at white heat their spirit of love and self-sacrifice, the spirit which caused over 1,000 of them to volunteer when a first appeal was made for workers among the lepers and which caused China, after the martyrdoms of Chan-si, to become their country of predilection. And even to-day, thirty years after the death of Mère Marie de la Passion, the same spirit inspires this ever-growing Institute.

V. M. C.

THE WILD IRISH GIRL. By Lionel Stevenson. London: Chapman and Hall. 1936. Pp. 330. 15s.

Some three years ago a life of the Countess of Blessington was published by Messrs. Constable and Co. It told the rather tragic story of one of the most remarkable people of the beau monde in which Lady Morgan (the Wild Irish Girl of Mr. Stevenson's book) came to move—the story, too, of one whom Lady Morgan rightly or wrongly was always inclined to view as a somewhat challengingly successful rival in her own particular line as authoress, lady of fashion and dilettante. For both the Countess of Blessington and Lady Morgan came of rather humble Irish origin, yet won their way, for all that, to the forefront of the fashionable life of their times. Both had undoubted gifts of intellect and social bearing; but whereas Lady Blessington was universally counted one of the most handsome women of her time, Lady Morgan, if not ugly, was at best plain looking. She was small—"hardly more than four feet high"—somewhat deformed and with a slight squint. What she lacked in good looks, however, she made up in vivacity and good humour, being always ready to dance and sing and entertain with airs on her harp.

In Mr. Stevenson Lady Morgan has found a happy biographer who presents her to us without exaggeration or bias. His task has not been an easy one. To recreate the atmosphere in which Lady Morgan lived, to enter into her ambitions and aspirations has entailed wide

reading and much research. The task was further complicated by the fact that Lady Morgan was an authoress whose output was both considerable and varied, though not of permanent interest or value. Her style is for the most part pedantic and cumbersome. Yet without a careful study of her books no true estimate of her character can be formed ; for, apart from the light they throw upon her views in general, much that is but thinly veiled autobiography is contained in them. Mr. Stevenson has done a generous service to her memory and to the public at large by studying them.

For Irish readers the book has something of a special interest ; for whether from pose or sincerity (and I am inclined to think that there must have been nearly as much of the one as of the other) Lady Morgan constituted herself an advocate of the cause of the Irish peasant and the Irish Catholic. She liked, too, to parade her own Irish origin and to act in society the role of the " little wild Irishwoman " as she phrased it, though here again it is hard to say how far her attitude was the result of genuine national feeling and not dictated by a love of singularity and the enjoyment derived from stimulating the curiosity of others. Certain it is anyway that, though for upwards of quarter of a century she carried on in her home at 35 Kildare Street, Dublin, the traditions established two generations earlier by Mrs. Delany at Delville, Glasnevin, as soon as her income was sufficiently secure she cut adrift from Dublin and went in 1837 to live permanently in London.

C. O'C.

Celtica

THE GOIDELS AND THEIR PREDECESSORS. By Thomas F. O'Rahilly. The Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, British Academy, 1935. London : Humphrey Milford. 1936. 2s. 6d. net.

Since Celtic Philology established itself firmly as a science some seventy years ago the problem of the Celtic colonization of Ireland has exercised the minds of scholars. Investigation showed that, at a certain stage of development, an ancient Celtic language bifurcated, as it were, and continued to flow in two distinct streams. Initial Qu became Q in one and P in the other. Hence the terms Q-Celts and P-Celts to designate those who spoke one or the other of the two Celtic languages.

Within historic times the inhabitants of Ireland, Scotland and Man have been Q-Celts, whereas those of Devon, Cornwall, Wales and Brittany have been P-Celts. Evidence points to the conclusion that before the Roman Conquest the language spoken by all the Celts of Britain was of the P variety. Now the distance between Ireland and Britain is so short that, granted Celtic as the speech of both, it is

surprising to find such far-reaching phonetic differences. What is the explanation ?

According to Sir John Rhys (following in part d'Arbois de Jubainville) the root cause lay in the varying dates of colonization. The original inhabitants of both islands were Iberians. These were conquered at the beginning of the Bronze Age (c. 1500–1200 B.C.) by invaders from Gallia Celtica, where the language was of Q character. Later, about 400 B.C., the Belgae, who were tribes partly Germanic in origin but Celticized and speaking a P language, conquered Britain, where they introduced the use of iron. They did not reach Ireland, which continued therefore to be peopled by Q-Celts.

Professor MacNeill rejected the Rhys theory as untenable. He argued that the Celts rose first to prominence in the region north of the Danube. In the 9th or 8th century B.C. they had learned the use of iron, as the remains at Hallstatt testify, and thus equipped had begun to expand throughout Europe. Their earliest conquest was made, so to speak, next door, in Northern Italy, which they wrested from the Etruscans about 600 B.C. They reached Britain about 400 B.C. and Ireland about half-a-century later. To this period (middle La Tène) the oldest examples of Celtic art in Ireland belong. Connections during the Bronze Age were rather with Spain and Scandinavia than with Central Europe.

More recently the French archaeologist Henri Hubert taught decisively that Q-Celts and P-Celts (who may be called respectively Goidels and Britons) separated as far back as 1500 B.C. No Goidel ever set foot in Gaul. The home of the Goidels was, indeed, in Northern Germany, probably in Westphalia, whence they migrated to Britain and Ireland about 1200 B.C. So thoroughly was the migration carried out that scarce a trace of the Goidels remained in their old territory. The Celts of the Danube and the Rhine, who spread to Gaul and Britain, but not to Ireland, spoke exclusively a P language, the river *Sequana* (the Seine), the people *Sequani* (between the Rhone and Rhine) and the forms *equos* and *quimon* of the Gaulish Coligny Calendar notwithstanding.

Other archaeologists, among whom may be included Dr. Mahr, Director of the National Museum, speak of a Goidelic conquest of Britain and Ireland in the Late Bronze Age (c. 1000 B.C.). They agree that the Hallstatt people of the Early Iron Age (c. 800–600 B.C.) were Celtic and think that they already spoke a P or Brittonic tongue. Hallstatt developed into La Tène, and invaders enjoying the latter culture entered England in the fourth century B.C. Some time later a second wave of invasion swept over that country and reduced it to subjection, so that its language became definitely P-Celtic. They did not subjugate the Goidels of Ireland, though they transmitted

to them La Tène culture. A third wave, associated with well-known tribes of the Belgae, influenced south-eastern England only.

From all this it is evident that the archaeological approach to the problem of Irish colonization is still very imperfect. A science that speaks with a dozen contradictory tongues cannot carry conviction. Much will need to be dug and studied and understood before there can be any prospect of unanimous utterance. The more welcome, therefore, is the entry into the lists of Professor O'Rahilly, a brilliant scholar whose interests are primarily linguistic. He is convinced that the great majority of Brittonic words in the Irish vocabulary have a character so homely that they cannot have been introduced by casual borrowing from Britain. They must really have been used on Irish soil before Irish became the sole spoken language. He concludes then that a Celtic tongue of the Brittonic type must have been common in Ireland before the Goidelic invasion and that it was probably kept alive for a long time afterwards by the subject classes.

Again, he argues, the name Fir Bolg is applied in Irish tradition to a people admittedly of pre-Goidelic origin. Now Fir Bolg is but a periphrasis for Builg, which represents a Celtic Bolgi, an ablaut form of Belgi, of which Belgae is a mere declensional variation. Hence the Fir Bolg of Ireland are essentially one with the Belgae of Gaul and Britain. In other words, the Belgae or P-Celts preceded the Goidels or Q-Celts as conquerors of Ireland. They probably arrived in Ireland in the 6th century B.C.

But the Belgae were not the first Celts to inhabit these islands. Their culture was that of Hallstatt, and therefore belonged to the Early Iron Age. Many centuries earlier, at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1000 B.C.), the islands of Britain and Ireland had been overrun by a conquering people from Central Europe. These were the Priteni, Cruithin, Picts. Their language was Celtic—being, like British and Gaulish generally, of the P type.

As late as the 7th century A.D. the ethnic distinction between Priteni (Cruithin, Picts), Belgae (Fir Bolg) and Goidels was strongly felt in Ireland.

In the ancient legendary and semi-historical literature the Érainn play a notable part. Ptolemy the Geographer calls them Iverni, the word from which the classical name of Ireland, Ivernia (more popularly, Hibernia), is derived. Closely connected with this is the native name for the country in Old Irish, Ériu, later Éire. The Érainn at one time occupied all Ireland, though their chief possessions and strongholds lay in the South. They are the Fir Bolg or Belgae of earlier tradition.

Distinct from these were the Laigin or Lagenian tribes, equated with the Domnainn and the Gailcóin. They held North Leinster, much of Connacht, and parts of Waterford, Tipperary and Limerick.

They represent an invasion of the La Tène or later Iron Age (probably of the 3rd century B.C.) from Western Britain. In Connacht they fought and defeated the Érainn (Fir Bolg, Belgae) who sought refuge along the Atlantic coast and in the neighbouring islands. One of the discomfited leaders, Oengus mac Úmóir, built Dún Oengusa on the largest of the Aran Islands, and his brother settled in Inishmaan. This incidentally is the most reasonable account yet given of the purpose for which the remarkable western fortresses were constructed. Their date, according to this explanation, would be approximately the 3rd century B.C.

Thus there were in Ireland three groups of pre-Goidelic Celts, the Picts, the Érainn and the Laigin. All these were disturbed by the coming of the Goidels direct from the Continent to Ireland in the first century B.C. Whence precisely did these come ? It must be admitted that the difficulty here is staggering. Nothing is more certain than that the Goidels were Q-Celts. Now the whole of Gaul seems to have been occupied by P-Celts. If the territory of the Sequani (whose name contains Q) was an exception, there is the disconcerting fact that place-names mentioned in it are of the P variety. But the harassed historian, if he is to survive at all, has no other plank to which he may cling, so that the best has to be made of the situation. Professor O'Rahilly states boldly that not only the Sequani, but their neighbours the Helvetii, were Q-Celts. This gives an opportunity of conjecturing how Celts from the heart of Europe came to Ireland in the first century B.C. The migration of the Helvetii and their fate at the hands of Julius Caesar in B.C. 58 are familiar to everybody. After the disastrous battle some 130,000 fugitives are accounted for. Of the remaining 146,000 people nothing is said, though it is clear that they all cannot have fallen in the affray. Professor O'Rahilly suggests that bands of these reached the Loire, where they secured ships from the Veneti or other maritime tribes and sailed for Ireland. We fear that there is something of the mouse in search of the cat about this solution. That broken men should have shown such spirit and enterprise would be surprising ; that they succeeded in wresting territory from the Érainn, the Laigin and the Picts (their fellow-Celts and hardly much inferior to them in civilization) would be more surprising still. But that the fugitives should succeed within a comparatively short time in imposing their rule upon the whole of Ireland and inducing it to drop its P-Celtic in favour of their Q-Celtic (unless the difference between the two languages was infinitely less than is commonly assumed by philologists) would border on the miraculous. This, perhaps, is the one element in his theory which Professor O'Rahilly, for all his splendid talents, does not quite manage to render plausible.

The fugitive Helvetian Goidels landed in two parties : one near

the mouth of the Boyne, the other on the coast of Cork. Tara, in the Midlands, became the headquarters of the former; Cashel, in the fertile Limerick-Tipperary plain, the headquarters of the latter. They became known, respectively, as the Connachta and the Eóganachta, whose doings are the main theme of Irish story during the historic period. Their conquest of Ireland was in a sense complete, in a sense incomplete, for the Laigin retained their independence through the centuries.

Such, in outline, is the substance of Professor O'Rahilly's lecture. Space does not permit more than a passing allusion to the engrossing side-issues, discussed with inexhaustible wealth of learning through his pages. The full force of his main contentions will be appreciated only when the book, of which his lecture is a summary, appears in print. We join with him in the hope that the publication of so valuable a work may not be long delayed. J. R.

CINNLAE AMHLAOIBH UI SHUILEABHAIN. (*The Diary of Humphrey O'Sullivan*). Part I. Edited and translated by Rev. Michael McGrath, S.J. London : Irish Texts Society. 1936. 25s.

What we know of the life of the "mere Irish" in the early eighteenth century comes to us mainly through the minds of English travellers, historians or novelists. The majority of these persons regard the Irish in pretty much the same light as their countrymen of the period regarded the "natives" in the lands they conquered—as a lower grade of beings whose sole *raison d'être* was to heap up wealth for their masters. The peasants were not really human beings with interests and rights of their own, and as a consequence, when their habits and doings are recorded, these are told either to accentuate this intrinsic depravity or to illustrate their rather naive and peculiar character. Apart from the meagre results to be drawn from the Gaelic literature of the period, we have scarcely any knowledge of how life appeared to the Irish themselves, what they thought of their masters, or what the aim was of their hopes and aspirations.

The unique, perhaps the sole, value of this diary of O'Sullivan's is that it gives us a very full, a very vivid picture of the life of one small town during the period 1827–1837, as it appeared to an Irishman who differed in nought from his fellows save that he was articulate where they were dumb. A Kerryman by birth, O'Sullivan came to Callan in Kilkenny at the age of ten years in the year 1790, and there he was educated by his father at one of the typical road-side schools. Of this school he in turn became and remained master until he moved into Callan itself, setting up there a fairly large school. After his marriage in 1812 he seems to have retired for a time from teaching to take up the management of a small draper's shop. In

the period covered by this first volume, at any rate, there is no mention of teaching. He died in the year 1837.

A prominent figure in the life of the town, O'Sullivan was very active in promoting the cause of Catholic Emancipation, and appeared in Court on several occasions when Catholic rights were threatened. He seems also to have laboured much to alleviate the misery among the poor caused by the rack-renting and high taxes. It is, however, on his record of the day to day life of town and country that the importance of his diary rests. We learn from him what crops the farmers sowed. Wheat (winter and spring), oats, rye, barley, potatoes, fruit were all grown in this fertile land—" this lovely valley of silver and corn of ours " as he calls it (p. 320). Tobacco was also widely grown : " there is hardly a kitchen-garden around Kilkenny City that doesn't grow tobacco " (p. xxxii). A sentence on p. 276 helps, perhaps, to explain the disaster that followed the potato blight in '47 : " I remember the time, about thirty-five years ago, when every capable farmer had peas and beans ; but the potatoes put them out of date (*chuireadar as dáta iad !*). Few people sow them now except the gentry." But it would be impossible to enumerate in any detail the interesting lights which the diary throws on many aspects of the age.

About the Irish cultural life of the period, however, the diary gives us no such detailed information. For a schoolmaster and the son of a schoolmaster, O'Sullivan shows remarkably little interest in what culture there was in Irish-speaking Ireland in his day. His lament for the decay of Irish (p. 54) has frequently been quoted, and he notes with dismay the lack of provision for Irish when an English lending library was being set up by the people of Callan (p. 198). But to judge by the contents of this volume at least, he took little interest in Gaelic letters. On the other hand we have the names of newspapers he took in regularly. Of Irish papers he mentions " The Kilkenny Independent " and " The Clonmel Herald," while he read every week such English papers as " Bell's Life in London," " Hunt's Letter from Paris," and (sad to tell) " the Sunday Paper called ' London Life ' by ' Eigan.' "

It is practically impossible to form any judgment on O'Sullivan's prose style, as the majority of the entries are written in a very staccato and disjointed manner. The fact, too, that most of the diary is taken up with interminable and wearying weather-reports makes reading of it anything but easy. As far as we can judge, however, he had an eye for natural beauty, as witness his description of a wet, sunlit road : " The road from Callan to Cooliagh Flags looked like a shining silver thread wrought on green satin . . . or like a river of gleaming mercury through a green-grassy valley on an April day." (p. 214). But his orthography and grammar are alike wretched. He is capable of

spelling the same word in three different ways on the same page ; he scatters accents and aspiration marks at random, and varies the gender of nouns at will. Apart, then, from its value to the lexicographer, his Irish will serve very little, either as a model of style or as material for the student of dialect forms.

In view of this arbitrariness of spelling, the fact that Fr. McGrath has not adhered closely to the manuscript spelling is not, perhaps, of very great moment. That he has not done so will be apparent on comparing the manuscript page of the frontispiece with the corresponding text, and further comparison with the manuscripts themselves will bear out the statement. But the deviations are, for the most part, a matter of accents and aspirations, and " where O'Sullivan does not distinguish, neither need we distinguish." Fr. McGrath has given a very fine translation, which, while keeping close to the Irish text, is lucid and pleasant to read. I noticed some few mistranslations, as on p. 281, where *fear* should clearly have been *féar*, with the corresponding change in the translation. S. Ó D.

Economics and Sociology

L'HOMME DEVANT LE CAPITALISME. Par André Fourgeaud. Paris : Payot. 1936. 30 fr.

Professor Fourgeaud has condensed into a single volume the general principles underlying his course of lectures on political economy. The volume is encyclopaedic in information—containing, as it does, a complete survey of world economic history, a description of the main schools of economic thought, a discussion on the different modern theories of value, and much information about recent technical changes in industrial production. The central principle of Professor Fourgeaud's approach to the subject is that economic discussion has tended to become unduly subjective and to pay insufficient attention to the real, personal and technical, factors which have influenced human activity. At the same time, he avoids falling into errors encountered by the technocrats, who ignore the psychological determinants of value.

As a source of much important information on historical and technical problems Professor Fourgeaud's work is valuable and interesting, but English-speaking students of economics will not benefit greatly from its study because its whole method of treatment of the problems with which it deals will appear so alien and unusual. Rightly or wrongly, the best contemporary economists insist on the desirability of keeping economic theory, economic history and technical practice in separate compartments. Historical and technical facts are regarded as of no great interest in themselves, but merely as forming

the *data* upon which the economist bases the premises from which his deductions are drawn. To students trained in this tradition, works such as those of Professor Fourgeaud, however learned, must appear to sacrifice elegance to comprehensiveness. G. O'B.

PROBLEMI FONDAMENTALI DELLO STATO CORPORATIVO. By Ludovico Barassi and Others. 10 lire.
ECONOMIA CORPORATIVA. By F. Vitto and Others. 15 lire.
IL MESSAGGIO SOCIALE DI GESU. By Igino Giordani. 18 lire.
Milano: "Vita e Pensiero." 1935.

These three volumes owe their origin to the Catholic University of Milan. The literary activity of this comparatively young University has been and continues to be prodigious. Moreover, the standard of scientific work and the scholarship of its publications have always been commendably high and solid. Apart from its periodicals—there are four of them dealing with scholastic philosophy, sociology, history and archaeology—it has in course of publication twelve series of scientific works. Some of these series—for instance, the philosophical one and the juridical one—have already reached twenty or thirty volumes. The first two books mentioned above belong to the Social Science series. In this series are included those two fine examples of Catholic co-operation in scientific publications, the *Raccolta di scritti in memoria di Giuseppe Toniolo* (*Vol. VII*) and *Il XL Anniversario della Enciclica "Rerum Novarum."* (*Vol. XI*). No words of praise can be too high for the printing and presentation of these volumes, or for the low price at which such excellent craftsmanship is made available. The Societá Editrice "Vita e Pensiero" is certainly maintaining its well-deserved reputation for artistic work.

Problemi Fondamentali dello Stato Corporativo comprises six lectures delivered by professors of the Catholic University of Milan under the auspices of the Union of Social Science. These are preceded by a short introduction from the pen of Fr. Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M. The six fundamental problems dealt with are: the representation of economic interests, the representation of non-economic interests, the problem of control, collective economic interests in relation to individual economic interests, the question of rent in the corporate order, and the position of a national corporate economic system in world commerce. No one will deny that these questions are "fundamental" nor that they are "problems." But the very title of the book should put the reader on his guard: these fundamental problems are being studied not as purely human social problems, which they are for all the world, but precisely as problems for a "Corporate State." We are, therefore, at once debarred from criticising, on general principles of ethics, politics or sociology, the solutions put forward. We

are presented with a fixed and immutable *datum*, the *Corporate State*, and we are asked to study the solution of these problems (presumably from a Catholic point of view) within the stringent limits of a *Corporate State*. It would be an unreasonable and irrelevant criticism to tell the learned authors that the most satisfactory solution of their problems would be to get rid of the Corporate State. That is just what they cannot do, whether they wish it or not. Their solutions must have a realist and practical bias ; they must take account of hard facts. Indeed, it is extremely probable (and this always lessens enormously the value of any modern Italian sociological or similar works) that the publication of a work that did not accept the Corporate State in principle would not be allowed to be printed or published in Italy to-day. At any rate, Fr. Gemelli leaves us—and the Italian censorship—in no doubt concerning the spirit in which the book is written : " . . . il punto fondamentale è proprio questo : l'etica offre i mezzi perchè l'azione politica e l'attività economica . . . conduca alla realizzazione di una società nuova della quale l'Italia, auspice Benito Mussolini, indica le linee fondamentali."

Hence, for those who prefer to follow the age-long tradition of Catholic social ethics, under the auspices of St. Thomas Aquinas and of Leo XIII and Pius XI, much of this book will have merely an academic interest. The solutions which may be good or best in a corporate State such as Fascist Italy, are almost certainly going to be less good in a corporative society such as Catholic thought has long envisaged and Pope Pius XI recently sketched in *Quadragesimo Anno*. There are undoubtedly many points of detail in this book of great interest and utility even to those who reject Fascism with all its pomps and works. But they are points of detail : the principles seemingly and verbally accepted by the writers are the principles of Fascism, with all its dangers of totalitarianism. To take an example. In the very first lecture Signor Barassi proposes a difficulty to himself : Will not the economic corporations constitute a menace to the authority of the State in its organs of government ? The question is slightly ambiguous in its wording, but coming from an Italian of to-day its meaning is clear. The answer, says Signor Barassi, is decidedly in the negative : the corporations will be completely subordinate both to the organs of the State and to " ispecie il Capo del Governo." Precisely : and the words of Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* come back to us : " We feel bound to say that to Our knowledge there are some who fear that the State is substituting itself in the place of private initiative instead of limiting itself to necessary and sufficient assistance. It is feared that the new syndical and corporative organisation tends to have an excessively bureaucratic and political character " (Q.A. 95).

The lecture of Signor Ferri on Rent in the Corporative Order is

timely, seeing that the question of Henry George's doctrines and unearned increments, especially in ground rents, has once more come up for discussion. It is an intricate and difficult lecture, but the main conclusion is clear : " Rent as a differential profit of a category or group of people finds its total elimination in the corporative order." The whole line of reasoning and argument is intensely interesting, tracing the theory of rent from Ricardo and Malthus up to modern times, to Pareto and others, and giving the Fascist solution.

Economia Corporativa is a collection of five lectures on technical economic problems as they appear in Fascist Italy. Professor Vitto stresses the teleological aspect of economic science and exposes the ends of a corporative economy and its premises. His paper, *L'Essenza dell' Economia corporativa*, is a valuable piece of writing, running to some ninety pages of orderly, clear and acute reasoning. Dr. Biucchi has an exceptionally interesting contribution on that widely-read and almost idolised Austrian economist, Othmar Spann. Spann's sociological doctrine of Universalism had (and still has) an enormous vogue in Austria and Germany, and there is no doubt about his ability and originality. Biucchi's essay is one of the very few—are there any others ?—attempts in Italian economic literature to estimate Spann's position and worth. While it can hardly compare with Wrangel's study in German or Wagner's in French, it is none the less a most useful exposition and examination of a fascinating theory which has certain points of contact with Fascism.

The third book on our list is the one we should most highly and earnestly recommend to the average non-specialist reader. It is really a monumental work—it contains some 300 large pages—on the spirit of Christianity as it ought to be seen in the various departments of human life. It is not an exhortatory work, at least not primarily, but a critically constructive and scientific text-book of Catholic social principles and practice. It is worthy to take its place beside Tischleder's and Weber's German and Schwalm's or Leclerq's French companion pieces : to our shame, be it said, we have nothing in English that could even remotely come near the same class. A particularly pleasing and a novel feature is the way the author keeps in close touch with the personality of Christ : his title is well chosen : *Il Messaggio Sociale di Gesu*. The *benignitas et humanitas Salvatoris nostri* breathe through every page. The author is extremely well-read, especially in non-Catholic and non-Italian writers : Prat and Barbusse, Bernard Shaw and Loisy, Harnack and Grandmaison are all skilfully made to contribute their share to the making of the book. Finally, the style of the author is very attractive in its lucid simplicity and classical restraint.

E. J. C.

History

A HISTORY OF IRELAND. By Edmund Curtis, M.A., Litt.D. London : Methuen. 1936. Pp. viii + 399. 12s. 6d.

THE writing of a scholarly history of a country like Ireland may be compared to the restoration by an expert archaeologist of a highly delicate and elaborate urn from the available fragments. Sufficient material is to hand, though many precious pieces are missing. The main outlines are readily discerned, but the determination of the finer parts is extremely delicate, the supplying of the missing portions more delicate still. To study Professor Curtis's new *History of Ireland* is to watch at work the hands of the skilled restorer.

The Irish historian, like the Irish romantic writer, may, with reference to the history of his country, speak truly of the "Three Sorrows of Storytelling." For the story he has to tell is one of triple tragedy—the decline of the Gaelic Nation ; the rise of a greedy, intolerant and pampered Protestant ascendancy ; and the steady persistency in niggardliness, blundering and recurrent brutality of the English government, which, through its officials in Dublin, kept down a country which it could not govern. Fortunately now an epilogue may be added, an epilogue of resurgence and hope.

This latest History of Ireland recounts again that tripartite tale. It is a work of first-rate scholarship by one who has devoted a lifetime to the study of his subject. The book is marked throughout by sound judgment and scrupulous objectivity. The writer's keen eye for the essential has enabled him to compress without distorting, to trim without disfiguring. In masterful manner and with unfailing patience Professor Curtis has unravelled the tangled skein of Irish political history from 1170 to the present day. He has traced out in bold lines the criss-cross interlacing of the Gaelic, Norman, Anglo-Irish and official English elements through the centuries, and not as separate entities but as parts of the moral unity which they constituted.

Perhaps the most vitiating error in historical method is the projection by the historian of later ideas and ways of thought into the past. There are those who, in the supposed interests of patriotism, would have us judge, for example, the Irish chieftains of the thirteenth or sixteenth century in the light of French republicanism of the eighteenth. This not uncommon error Professor Curtis emphatically avoids. He looks at past events, not as they appear to him or to us, but as they appeared to contemporaries. But proper historical method makes an even more exacting demand. Past events must be interpreted not only in their contemporary light, but—and this is even more important still—they must be interpreted in the light of what has gone before. Here again Professor Curtis excels. Probably the greatest

merit of this work is its exceptional coherence and unity. Although of necessity it passes rapidly from century to century, the parts are most closely knit together in a sequence which is not of artificial and arbitrary chapter and section, but of natural cause and effect.

This *History* will be warmly welcomed by scholars. But it is sincerely to be hoped that it will be read widely both in Ireland and in England. As an honest effort to understand and interpret Irish history through the centuries, it should appeal strongly to honest readers, whether English or Irish. It may be heartily recommended in particular to politicians on both sides of the Irish Sea. The question of the relations between these two countries is a problem which has its roots in the thirteenth century. The Englishman who reads this book will be enabled to appreciate the Irishman's point of view. Without a knowledge of Irish history it is quite impossible that he should do so. The fact that Dr. Curtis is Professor of Modern History in Trinity College will doubtless make the English reader more ready to accept this presentation of the Irishman's point of view. On the other hand Irishmen of the present day who read this book will see more clearly the strange elements that have gone to their making. With their minds stimulated by the vigour and clarity, their hearts warmed by the true patriotism, of this latest telling of the story of their country, they will be able to approach with greater hope of success the many vexed problems which remain with them as their history's heritage.

It may seem ungracious on the part of the reviewer to find fault at all with a book of such worth. At the same time, in fairness to the reader, a few words of criticism must be added. In only one case is the matter of importance. That concerns the treatment of the early history of Ireland—*i.e.* from the earliest times to the year 1014 A.D. Of the whole book's 400 pages only thirty pages are devoted to this period ; and even apart from this evident lack of proportion, those early chapters are quite definitely not up to the high standard of the rest of the book. In general, throughout the work one feels that the purely political interest is cultivated at the expense of the cultural. Professor Curtis does not at all underestimate the value of the native culture or the importance of the rôle it played. But one regrets that he did not treat more of the character of that culture which was strong enough to resist and then to absorb the highly cultured Norman. The author, we think, might with profit have drawn more liberally from Irish literature. Again, to express a personal opinion, one might wish that the author had paused more frequently to point out general lines and tendencies and to gather up the inevitable loose ends.

The forms of Irish names will not please all ; some of them, *e.g.* Ui Cathain (p. 118), would be difficult to justify. We cannot accept

the author's statement (p. 15) that St. Columbanus "conceded to the Holy See a *primacy of honour* and a measure of supreme authority." St. Patrick was about sixteen years of age when he was brought to Ireland (Cf. Conf. §1), not "thirteen or fourteen" as the author states on p. 9. Is it correct to speak of the "Druidic priests" (p. 8) or to state that the Fianaigecht was the first folklore of the Gael (p. 5)? For "Irish rebels" (p. 125 line 19) read "English rebels"; for "Meath" p. 212 read "Westmeath"; and, abstracting altogether from the question involved, for "murder" and "murdered" (p. 193 line 17 and p. 225 line 5) read "killing" and "killed." But these and the mere typographical errors can be easily corrected. The list of books recommended for reading contains surprises, both on account of the works omitted and of some that are included. Finally, so excellent a book surely deserves better maps than the ones provided.

F. S.

HISTOIRE DES UNIVERSITES FRANCAISES ET ETRANGERES. Par Stephen d'Irsay. 2 vols. Paris: Picard. 1933; 1935. 110 frs.

LES UNIVERSITES CATHOLIQUES. Par René Aigrain. Paris: Picard. 1935. 12 frs.

The sudden death of M. Stephen d'Irsay just two years ago is a grievous loss to French scholarship. A doctor by profession and a born historian, M. d'Irsay had chosen a subject perfectly suited to his unusual gifts. An idealist and an intellectualist, he confesses in the preface to his first volume that he disliked the thought of interpreting the facts of intellectual history in the light of economic conditions. His task was to write a balanced history of the Universities of Europe from their foundation in the Middle Ages to the present day. Nobody will deny that economic factors have counted for much in that history, and are still of vital importance. M. d'Irsay was aware of this influence, but he deliberately left to others the thankless task of counting up the petty cash. His interests lay in the world of ideas, and his work is impressive, not only because he went to endless trouble to make himself acquainted with the published literature on his subject, but even more by reason of his gift of singling out the dominant ideas of each new generation and illustrating in a few brilliant paragraphs their influence on the academic life and thought of the day.

M. d'Irsay's first volume covers much the same ground as Rashdall's more elaborate *History of the Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, but with an eye to general principles of growth rather than to the detailed inquiry into local varieties of custom and organisation. M. d'Irsay's plan has, however, one immense advantage over Rashdall's work. His first volume does not stop short at 1500 or any other such

arbitrary date but includes the sixteenth century, with its prolonged vitality of medieval tradition and its new life in the activity of the Catholic Counter-Reform. The volume ends with a brilliant chapter on the Jesuit Universities in Central Europe, placing them in their true perspective as a counterpart to the work of Cardinal Ximenes at Alcala or of the first humanists in Germany and France. Both volumes are generously illustrated ; and the choice of plates has been exceptionally well made—though it is a little surprising to find a drawing of Christ Church in the seventeenth century published as though it were a plan of the buildings of the University.

M. d'Irsay's second volume brings the story down to the year 1860, and includes some very able chapters on the development of scientific research in the Universities of Europe. M. d'Irsay has here the advantage of a training in the physical sciences, and is thus in very much more actual sympathy with his subject than, for example, Rashdall could ever have been ; we may note as of special value his chapter on the development of medical studies after the great days of Vesalius at Louvain and Padua. To judge from the elaborate bibliography which has been added to this volume since the author's death, and which includes some four thousand items in various languages, M. d'Irsay was in close contact with modern research in the vast field which he had chosen as his own ; and his chapters on the modern German Universities as well as on Oxford and Cambridge show that he could appreciate and praise the work done by other nations. In fact, when he comes to tell the story of the transformation effected by Napoleon in his reform of the ancient University of Paris, it is at once plain that we are reading the work of a man who was far from approving of French higher education in the past hundred years. Had M. d'Irsay lived to write his final volumes on the Universities of our own day, we should probably have read a singularly able and outspoken criticism of the dogmas of nineteenth-century liberalism and twentieth-century totalitarianism.

M. d'Irsay was a fervent Catholic, and his death made it impossible for him to write the history of what Catholic workers have done in the past hundred years to counteract the increasingly hostile tendencies of most modern Universities. M. René Aigrain, who is a professor of the Catholic University of the West, has attempted to fill this gap by a short account of our modern Catholic Universities. Frankly, the attempt has been unsuccessful. M. Aigrain has made the initial mistake of limiting his work to those Catholic Universities which are recognised as such by the Holy See and which have been accepted as members of the International Federation of Catholic Universities. Nothing could seem more plausible at first sight. But the immediate result has been that M. Aigrain has excluded from his work all mention

of so outstanding an institution as the University of Innsbruck, with its famous faculty of Catholic theology; and the reader will search in vain for any mention of the various Catholic faculties which have been established in the State Universities of modern Germany.

The volume opens with a brief account of the restoration of the Gregorian University at Rome in 1824, and this is followed by a more detailed account of the founding of the Catholic University of Louvain in 1834. No more than six pages are given to the story of this immense national effort on behalf of Catholic higher education, whilst the bulk of the volume is given to a detailed account of all that has been planned and (in part) accomplished by the various Catholic Universities of France. Even Fribourg, as a State University, is relegated to a somewhat lengthy foot-note towards the end of the volume; and the story of what has been done for Catholic higher education in America is fantastically inadequate. After a brief account of the founding of the Catholic University of Washington, M. Aigrain adds a foot-note in which he informs his readers that this enterprise was embarrassed from the first by the rivalry of certain "cours du soir" which had been organised by the Jesuit Fathers and which had been given the ambitious title of the University of Georgetown. Would M. d'Irsay have been guilty of a blunder so unjust and so offensive? A. G.

THE BASTILLE FALLS AND OTHER STUDIES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By J. B. Morton. Illustrations from contemporary portraits. London: Longmans. 1936. 12s. 6d. net.

Widely known as a humourist and satirist, the author of this volume discloses in its pages a new and unexpected side of his literary talent. Taking the French Revolution for his subject, he has given us a fresh and most readable book on what may seem to some a hackneyed theme. The chapters are studies of the most dramatic and significant episodes of the period, round each of which much of its history is woven. The author's treatment of these shows an intimate and comprehensive acquaintance with his subject, and a familiarity, too, with the immense amount of research which recent studies have contributed to a clearer understanding of the great event. The opening chapter is a vivid description of the storming and capture of the Bastile. The momentous occurrence, so often portrayed by writers, has seldom been presented with such reserve and picturesqueness as in these colourful pages, where the atmosphere of the time is evoked with so deft a touch that the author might well have been a contemporary of the scenes he describes. Now and then, too, a few lines limn for us a portrait of the chief actor in the day's drama. Here is Camille Desmoulins, poet and demagogue, who sounded the tocsin of the Revolution: "He was of that temperament which is exalted at one moment and in despair the next;

passionate, undisciplined, tactless, of no judgment, a hero-worshipper, easily led . . . He had no more restraint than a child, and in his frenzies would talk any wild nonsense that came into his head."

Another chapter—in many respects the finest in the book—is devoted to an account of the September massacres in the Paris prisons. There is a masterly analysis of the causes that led to that ruthless deed, which many patriotic Frenchmen regarded under the circumstances as "a political necessity," and Mr. Morton examines in detail and with a judicial detachment Danton's complicity, or supposed complicity, in it. Dealing with this critical period round September 1792, when France was threatened by enemies within and without, the author has many luminous passages, like the following, that re-create for us the spirit then animating her sons :—

> "The impetus which carried the nation through the crisis must not be wholly attributed to hatred of royalists or hatred of Prussians. That is one side of the picture. It was the strength with which the Revolution was loved that fed all the energy of these days. Put that love at its lowest, and say that many feared to lose what they had gained if the old regime should be restored ; or put it at its highest, and say that many were ready to die for an idea. Both statements are true, and in between these came the mass of common men who knew they were breathing a new air and were driven on by some force they could not understand. Paris was inspired. In the songs of the time, in the speeches, even in the private letters one feels the presence of something that cannot be explained, something that blew like a spring wind and transfigured tailors and cobblers and cooks and barbers . . . "

Clarity, picturesqueness, sound judgment—these are some of the characteristics that give this book a fine distinctiveness. Mr. Morton is not a partisan. He sees and puts before us all sides of the contentious problems that set patriotic Frenchmen in bitter conflict with each other —the Mountain against the Gironde, the realist against the idealist—at a time when their country was fighting for her life. And as we read from page to page, from chapter to chapter, his magic pen makes us hear again the shoutings of the mob in the Paris streets, the rumble of the tumbril to the guillotine, and the great voice of Danton pleading for his country above the clash of party passions. R. H.

DIE DIKTATUR IN OESTERREICH. Von Franz Winkler, Vizekanzler a. D. Zurich : Orell Füssli. 1935. R.M. 5.60.

DOLLFUSS. By Dr. Johannes Messner. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1935. 6s.

HERR WINKLER'S book bears a title that is a revealing criticism of himself by himself. A still more devastating criticism and condemnation

of his whole outlook and of most of his specific opinions and judgments has been given by the course of events in Austria and in Spain since the book appeared. Had Winkler's policy been followed in Austria—and as he was Vice-Chancellor it had an excellent chance of being followed—Austria, like and before Spain, would have seen a ruthless attempt of Communism to enslave the country: an attempt that neither Italy nor Germany would or could have allowed to succeed and that might have led to a European war. The good sense and courage of Dollfuss saved the situation: and probably saved Herr Winkler from himself—for he would hardly ambition to play the ignominious role of an Austrian Zamora or Azana? Austria has not reached constitutional or political stability yet; indeed, so far as can be judged from newspaper reports, she is very far from it. It will surprise no one to hear of great changes in system and in personnel in the next year or two. But these changes, be they towards the right or towards the left, will be brought about with very much less disturbance and confusion and altogether less bloodshed, chiefly owing to the statesmanship of Dollfuss and Schuschnigg.

Herr Winkler gives an all too brief account of Austria from 1918 to 1932 in his first chapter, *From Seipel to Dollfuss*—a bare 23 pages out of 240. While he does bring out clearly the salient points of this period, he could have done it so much more fully and so much better; for he is eminently fitted for such a historical and dramatic narrative. His chapter on the Austrian Heimwehr movement is good -but extremely unsympathetic: no doctrinaire Liberal could be sympathetic towards such a popular protest against attempted Socialist tyranny. The rest of the book, 200 pages out of 240, is devoted to a detailed account of Austrian political history from June, 1932, to July, 1934, when Dollfuss was killed—more or less accidently it seems. This account is of the highest interest, clear and orderly and, provided the reader knows a little of Herr Winkler's career and can read between the lines, as good an account of a complicated period as is likely to appear for some time. We utterly fail to see why the book is banned by the Austrian Government; and we utterly fail to see why Herr Winkler should have thought it worth his while to spoil his book by making it so tendentious. Everybody can sympathise with a man's natural inclination to forget that he is a man when his *amour propre* has been wounded; but a man who has held the responsible position of Vice-Chancellor in even a mutilated part of the Hapsburg realms ought to remember that *noblesse oblige*. By his book Herr Winkler has done neither himself nor his cause any good—nor his enemies any harm.

Dr. Messner's biography of Dollfuss deserves warm recommendation. There is not much to tell about the familiar little smiling man, who

was as far from being or wanting to be a dictator as any man in Europe. But the history of Austria since the War is of intense interest, and the explanation of the new ideas and new institutions in the political sphere is of considerable practical importance. Dr. Messner is one of the foremost Catholic sociologists in Austria, and although this is a slight and hastily-written book, it will well repay study by those interested in the concrete application of Catholic political and social philosophy. E. J. C.

ITALY IN THE MAKING : June 1846—January 1848. By G. F. H. and J. Berkeley. Cambridge : University Press. 1936. 21s.

MR. BERKELEY has been at work for over thirty years on the history of the Italian Risorgimento, and the first fruits of his long searches in the archives of the period have appeared already under the title : *Italy in the Making :* 1815–1846. It will be seen that the first volume covers a period of more than thirty years, whilst this second (and more bulky) volume covers a period of very much fewer months. The cause of this disproportion lies in the author's chosen method. He holds, and rightly—as all students of our own revolutionary history will admit—that in times of revolution every detail is of importance, since the slow or rapid progress of a movement will depend very largely on the coincidence of favourable or unfavourable circumstances, often unimportant in themselves, but of vital importance when linked together by chance or design.

The central figure of this story is Pope Pius IX in the first eighteen months of his long pontificate—the *Papa liberale* whom Metternich had not reckoned with when assessing the chances of international revolution. No student of the period but has felt some pity for this singularly human figure : an Italian prelate whose heart was with his countrymen, and who had courage enough to risk a bold change of papal policy in the hope that reform might yet avert the threatened revolution. Step by step, he was forced farther than he had meant to go, and Austrian intransigeance ended by making his position impossible. We all know the sequel : the blessing of the Italian banners, followed so soon by the Pope's withdrawal from the Italian national cause. Was this pitiful collapse inevitable from the first ? Most of the papal court thought so, and said so vigorously from the first.

Mr. Berkeley, studying the changing scene almost week by week in his detailed survey, shows that there was far more to be said for Pio Nono's bold policy in the two years 1846–47 than has usually been granted by historians ; and his volume is in truth a vindication of a good man's vain effort to stem the tide of revolution and massacre. The end was failure. But the final judgment must always be uncertain. Mr. Berkeley quotes the opinion of three contemporary

observers, better fitted to observe and judge than any others. Pellegrino-Rossi, whose murder in 1848 marks the violent end of Pio Nono's reform, held that the Pope had moved too slowly. Mgr. Pecci, later Pope Leo XIII, held that his predecessor had moved forward too quickly in 1846 and had moved backward too fast in 1848. Cardinal Antonelli agreed with the first part of this opinion, but not with the second. Who shall know? A. G.

ENGLISH CARMELITES IN PENAL TIMES. By Sister Anne Hardman. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1936. 15s.

A Carmel is by its very life hidden from the eyes of the world, and God's Wisdom alone knows the part that Carmelite prayers have in the sanctification of the world. During the bitter years of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the English Catholic minority came near to extinction under the slow, relentless pressure of the penal code. That the small remnant was saved at all, and that their salvation should have been followed by so astonishing a resurrection, is indeed a miracle of grace. How far is that miracle due to the prayers of those forgotten Carmelite Sisters whose homes were in Antwerp and Alost and Bruges? This volume, based on the surviving records of these and other English-speaking Carmels on the Continent, suggests an answer that the historian cannot overlook in his calculations. There is little enough to tell, if we judge by human standards—the same oft-repeated story of a foundation in days that seemed strangely unpropitious; the same astonishing vitality; the same courageous trust in God's Providence that finally sends these English Sisters across the Atlantic to found the first Carmel in the United States soon after 1784; then the overthrow of their convents in 1794 and the flight to England, where new homes are found, that exist to this day. All this is told in detail by Sister Hardman, and she has added two chapters at the end of the volume, in which we get a full-length portrait of the most remarkable of all these holy women: Mother Anne of the Ascension (Worsley), who was Prioress of the Carmel at Hopland (Antwerp) from 1619 to 1644. Father Benedict Zimmermann has added a short preface, in which he deals with the internal problems of the Carmelite rule in its variously modified forms during these two centuries. P. D.

English Literature

PSYCHOLOGY OF GENIUS. Studies in Browning. By B. G. MacCarthy, M.A. University of London Press. 1936. 4s. 6d.

Miss MacCarthy studies five poems, *Pauline, Paracelsus, Sordello. Andrea del Sarto* and *Cleon*, each of which presents the inward drama of a man of genius and his failure through some flaw or lack of balance

to realise his ambitions. After an introductory chapter in which elements and terms are clearly defined, she examines the poems one by one. Her summaries and analyses of *Paracelsus* and *Sordello*, the longest and most tangled of the five, are well done ; anyone about to travel these labyrinths should be glad to have her thread to guide him. *Andrea del Sarto* might seem to stand in little need of interpretation, being a clear and perfect poem ; but one finds that Miss MacCarthy has to wrestle with two Browningites who hold that Andrea is meant for a merely contemptible figure.

The criticism suggests itself that Miss MacCarthy takes too much account of Browningites (a race still numerous, unlike the Wordsworthians) and too little of more detached critics. She is not, for this reason, brought up against certain major questions. What is the real value of Browning's long poems ? Are they not vicious in form and in style ; and if so, what survives ? Of the style Miss MacCarthy says that " through his endeavour to avoid verbosity he condenses his meaning too much " ; but might it not be held that it is in order to keep his verbosity from being obvious that he tortures it into obscurity ? Again, why did Browning so often take for subject *unsuccessful* genius, ambitious men who were uncreative and inarticulate in a flood of impulses and of language ? How far are all these self-portraits ? What, finally, is to be said of the place of Browning's long poems in the history of poetic form ? Long poems were narratives of actions and of a variety of characters until Wordsworth, who began the one-man, introspective long poem. Then Browning took it up. Can either be said to have fully succeeded ? Is it an impossible kind ? They have had no successors, for to-day nobody writes long poems. But perhaps this sort of long poem is the ancestor of one kind of modern prose fiction.

What Miss MacCarthy has done she has done well ; and readers of *Paracelsus* and *Sordello* will be thankful for her *filum labyrinthi*.

J. J. H.

ASPECTS OF WILDE. By Vincent O'Sullivan. London : Constable. 1936. Pp. 231. 10s. net.

Mr. Bernard Shaw has called this book " the first sane and credible description " of Wilde in the last stage of his life. The author knew Wilde before his imprisonment and was much in his company in Paris afterwards. He dissipates the legend of Wilde's utter disreputableness at that time, putting in the place of squalor and degradation a merely comparative poverty and loneliness. Keenly drawn portraits of such contemporaries as Dowson, Smithers the publisher and certain French writers form a valuable background. Some of these are done with a touch of bitterness, that of Moore perhaps with too much ; but in

general Mr. O'Sullivan writes with detachment—even, and this gives the book peculiar value, when he is writing of Wilde himself.

The book is written in short paragraphs, without plan, which allows Mr. O'Sullivan to mingle reminiscence and criticism, and saves him from the need of duplicating the fuller biographies or attempting a full critical study. It is what a source-book should be. The style is that of a good talker, pithy and decisive, and without formality. It makes a ground by which Wilde's conversational brilliancy is well set off. Enough of this is quoted to bear out Mr. O'Sullivan's assertion that Wilde remained a great talker to the end.

Mr. O'Sullivan writes thus, deprecatingly, of Wilde's aesthetic crusade, which brought Pre-Raphaelitism into the lives of the middle class: "The practical application of Wilde's aesthetic theories was Liberty gowns and shoddy insecure furniture, which became soon far uglier as it was from the first far less comfortable than what it replaced. I remember a man in London at the time of Wilde's trial speaking in his favour and saying with a wave of his hand, 'We owe him this!' Now the room we were in was full of horrible bric-à-brac, false antiques, flimsy cane chairs, and silk window-curtains, pale green. Perhaps Wilde himself would have thought that room hideous; but I am not so sure. Anyhow, he forced stolid British families to put out of doors the beautiful heavy Victorian furniture and curtains, so comfortable, so secure, as we see them in the pictures for Surtees' novels, and to make their houses look like lawn-tennis clubs on the Italian riviera. That seems to me a wonderful feat and such as no other man ever did." This is both well written and salutary. J. J. H.

Philosophy and Science

METAPHYSICA GENERALIS. Auctore L. de Raeymaeker. Tomus I: Doctrinae Expositio; Tomus II: Notae Historicae. Lovanii: E. Warny. 1935. 12 belgas

This handbook (completely revised and re-written in this second edition) is intended not as an elementary text-book, but rather to provide advanced students with material for research work. With excellent planning, there is fitted into less than 300 pages a treatment of all the ordinary questions as well as many recondite aspects of these. The work excels in clearness of treatment and originality of arrangement. Many will feel relieved to be free from the thesis and its ultra formality. Brief sentences and short paragraphs make for easy reading. The Latin style is, however, ultra purist and sometimes obscure.

The extensive references to literature, ancient and modern, are an important feature of the work. The second volume gives a very full historical treatment of each metaphysical problem. The student is

provided with a practically exhaustive guide to modern research in metaphysics.

The author's treatment of problems is on the lines of the traditional Thomist school. In the chapters on Being as such and on Causation he develops original points of view. Much is made, for example, of the nature of *ens* as *absolute* in determining the nature of metaphysical necessity ; while the Thomist view on the distinction of *esse* and *essentia* is used ingeniously to illuminate the more difficult problems of causation. J. S.

NUTRITIONAL FACTORS IN DISEASE. By William R. Fearon, M.B., Sc.D., F.T.C. London: Heinemann. 1936. Pp. 191. 7s. 6d.

Dr. Fearon's gift for interesting yet compact presentation of the essential facts has never been used to greater advantage than in this Buckston Brown prize essay. He has set himself a task than which none is more thankless, the compression of a great mass of material into a small space ; and he has carried it through with such dexterity that his essay is both readable and reliable. That is indeed an outstanding combination of merits, since all too often reliability is allied to illiteracy, and scientific books are in consequence but dreary reading.

This book, which could and indeed should be read by everybody who is interested in the scientific background of modern nutritional theories, has a special interest for Irish students. In an article in Studies, Dr. O'Brien pointed out the importance of recent trends in nutritional policy to Irish farmers ; and Dr. Fearon, in his epilogue, stresses this point. In the nineteenth century it was thought that, provided sufficient calories were consumed, it mattered little how they were obtained. This was incidentally a very characteristic nineteenth century point of view ; for quantity was then the all important consideration. The insistance on that merely quantitative viewpoint has now given place to a violent, and even exaggerated, outcry about such vital substances as vitamins. We are told that everything depends on the amount of raw salad, brown bread, fresh fruit, etc., that we eat ; an almost religious note has crept into dietetics. There is, therefore, all the more reason to welcome a sane and well-balanced account of the whole subject from an expert, who gives calories their due even if they have gone out of fashion, and who explains the importance of certain mineral constituents of diet which have not yet excited the fervour of diet enthusiasts.

The importance for Irish readers lies in the fact that each new advance in dietetic studies accentuates the importance of two peculiarly Irish products : milk and the egg. Whether it be calories, vitamins, or minerals, these two, and the things made from them, supply them all. Not that one could conveniently live on milk and eggs alone ;

but milk, eggs and bread, with butter and cheese thrown in, would amply suffice. Stated like this, there would appear to be nothing very new in the whole business. Nor is there, except this : that we have come back to the knowledge possessed by our grandmothers after passing through a wilderness of scientific ignorance. Men always knew that milk and eggs, cheese and butter, were good things to eat ; but it is safer to know why this is so. Otherwise people who make a profit out of selling cheap substitutes will, as they have done in the past, ruin the health of whole nations. It is well to know the reason why, for a more mundane reason also. Food and drink need, it appears, advertisement in these strange times. " Guinness is good for you " is a piece of self-evident truth ; but to most people quite a lot of proof is needed to persuade them that milk is good for them. I recommend to the authorities whose duty it is to advertise our Irish milk the careful perusal of Dr. Fearon's book. **T. W. T. D.**

Books Received

Balfour-Melville, E. James I King of Scots. (Methuen, 15/–).
Bartmann, Bernhard. Purgatory. A Book of Christian Comfort. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Berger, Lya. Le Vaste Champ du Célibat féminin. (Aubanel Aine, 15 fr.).
Biaggini, E. G. The Reading and Writing of English. (Hutchinson, 4/6).
Burke, Michael C. The Summons and Other Poems. (Talbot Press, 2/6).
Butler, Cuthbert. The Vatican Council. Two vols. (Longmans, 12/–).
Chagny, Andre. Les Martyres de Lyon de 177. (Vitte, 6 fr.).
Charmot, F. Le Sacrement de l'Unité. Méditation sur la Messe. (Desclée, 12 fr.).
Chesterton, G. K. Autobiography. (Burns Oates, 10/6).
Cross, T. P. Ancient Irish Tales. (Harrap, 10/6).
Cox, Ignatius W. Liberty : Its Use and Abuse. (Fordham University Press, $2).
Danzas, J. N. The Russian Church. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
D'Arcy, M. C., and Others. God and the Supernatural. A Catholic Statement of the Christian Faith. (Longmans, 5/–).
Davis, Henry. Moral and Pastoral Theology. Supplement. (Sheed & Ward, 1/–).
Davis, Henry. Authentic Replies on the Canons of the Codex. (Sheed & Ward, 1/6).
Demaitre, Edward. Fakirs et Yogis des Indes. (Hachette, 12 fr.).
Demant, V. A. Christian Polity. (Faber & Faber, 7/6).
Douglas, R. MacDonald. The Irish Book. (Talbot Press, 7/6).
Fearon, William R. Nutritional Factors in Disease. (Heinemann, 7/6).
Ferrero, Guglielmo. Novelle Histoire Romaine. (Hachette, 25 fr.).
Friedemann, Walter H. The Cross and the Star of David. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Geyl, P. The Netherlands Divided, 1609–1648. (Williams & Norgate, 12/6).
Gittings, Robert. The Story of Psyche. A Poem. (Cambridge University Press, 3/6).
Grimal, J. " C'est le Christ qui vit en moi." (Vitte, 7.50 fr.).
Hartman, Sylvester. A Textbook of Logic. (American Book Co., $2.50).
Hobson, J. A. Veblen. (Chapman & Hall, 6/–).
Hogan, James. Letters and Papers relating to the Irish Rebellion. 1642–1646. (Stationery Office, 10/6).
Hornsby, Hazel M. A. Gellii Noctium Atticarum Liber I. (Hodges Figgis, pp.293).
Hurley, Wilfred G. I Believe. (Herder, 2/6).

Books Received—*continued*

Jennings, Brendan. Michael O Cleirigh and his Associates. (Talbot Press, 7/6).
Jordan, W. K. Development of Religious Toleration in England, 1603–1640. (Allen & Unwin, 21/–).
Lacretelle, Pierre de. Secrets et Malheurs de la Reine Hortense. (Hachette, 15 fr.).
Lajoie, Louis. An Seuil de l'Eternité. (Téqui, 5 fr.).
Latham, Edward. Le Temps et les Temps des Verbes français. (Picard, pp. 127).
Lepicier, Cardinal. Our Father. Ten Discourses. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
Lucas, F. L. The Decline and Fall of the Romantic Ideal. (Cambridge Press, 8/6).
Lusseau, Abbe. Manuel d'Etudes bibliques. Les Livres didactiques. (Téqui, 25 fr.).
MacKenna, Stephen. Journal and Letters. Edited with a Memoir by E. R. Dodds. (Constable, 18/–).
Mackinnon, James. Calvin and the Reformation. (Longmans, 16/–).
MacManus, Francis. Candle for the Proud. (Talbot Press, 5/–).
Madariaga, S. de. Anarchie ou Hiérarchie. (Gallimard, 15 fr.).
Magnin, Fr. Ignatius. St. John of God. (Browne & Nolan, 5/–).
Mansergh, Nicholas. The Government of Northern Ireland. (Allen & Unwin, 12/6).
Marchand, Chanoine. Une Troublante Figure: Calvin. (Téqui, 3.50 fr.).
Marques-Riviere, Jean. Comment la Francmaçonnerie fait une Révolution. (Baudinière, 12 fr.).
Marshall, L. B. Rare Poems of the Seventeenth Century. (Cambridge Press, 7/6).
Martindale, C. C. The Prayers of the Missal. Sunday Collects. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
Marvin, F. S. Comte. (Chapman & Hall, 6/–).
Monlaur, Reynes. L'Oeuvre de l'Heure. La Schola Christi. (Plon, pp. 157).
Murray, Desmond. Tales of the Blessed Sacrament. (Browne & Nolan, 2/6).
Noyes, Alfred. Voltaire. (Sheed & Ward, 12/6).
O'Rahilly, Alfred. Father William Doyle, S.J. (Longmans, 6/–).
Ostdiek, Joseph. Simple Methods in Religious Instruction. (Fitzpatrick, 6/6).
O'Sullivan, Maurice. Vingt Ans de Jeunesse. Roman. (Gallimard, 15 fr.).
Peers, E. Allison. The Spanish Tragedy. (Methuen, 10/6).
Queneau, Raymond. Les Derniers Jours. Roman. (Gallimard, 15 fr.).
Rene-Bazin, Marie. Some Sisters of Mine. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
Ronan, Myles. Glendaloch and its Ruins. (Browne & Nolan, 6d.).
Radhakrishnan, S. Contemporary Indian Philosophy. (Allen & Unwin, 16/–).
Roberts, C. H. Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library. (John Rylands Library, 2/6).
Rose, H. J. A Handbook of Latin Literature. (Methuen, 21/–).
Ross, Eva. Social Origins. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
Russell, J. C. Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England. (Longmans, 7/6).
Stuart, Janet Erskine. Prayer in Faith. Thoughts for Liturgical Seasons and Feasts. Two vols. (Longmans, 3/6 each).
Somerville, Henry. A Course of Social Study. (Toronto: Extension Print, 15 cents).
Taube, Mortimer. Causation, Freedom and Determinism. (Allen & Unwin, 10/–).
Tillerton, W. R. G. K. Chesterton. A Portrait. (Browne & Nolan, 5/–).
Valera, Sinead de. Là Bealtaine. Drama. (MacGuill, 6d.).
Valera, Sinead de. Teach i n-Airde. (MacGuill, 6d.).
Van Gogh, Vincent. Letters to an Artist, 1881–1885. (Constable, 14/–).
Wayne, T. G. Morals and Marriage. Catholic Background to Sex. (Longmans, 3/6).
Van Zeller, Hubert. Sackcloth and Ashes. Six Minor Prophets. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
Welter, G. La Guerre civile en Russie, 1918–1920. (Payot, 15 fr.).
Whelan, Basil. Historic English Convents of To-day. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
White, Newport. Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds, 1200–1600. Transcribed from the Originals preserved at Kilkenny Castle. (Stationery Office, 17/6).
Yeats, W. B. The Oxford Book of Modern Verse, 1892–1935. (Oxford Press, 8/6).

Semaines Sociales de France. L'Organisation Corporative. (Gabalda, 30 fr.).
Catholic Faith. A Catechism. Book Two. Edited under the supervision of the Catholic University of America. (Kenedy, 30 cents).
Peace and the Clergy. By a German Priest. (Sheed & Ward, 5/–).
A Rhyme of Blessed Edmund Campion, S.J. Illustrated. (Burns Oates, 1/–).

University College
DUBLIN

A Constituent College of
The National University of Ireland

SESSION 1936-37

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace are open daily.

TODD, BURNS & CO.

LIMITED

High-Class TAILORING

TO ORDER.

SUITS and OVERCOATS

READY TO WEAR.

Gentlemen's OUTFITTING

IN ALL REQUIREMENTS.

Furniture, Carpets, Linoleums

IN BEST QUALITIES.

MARY STREET, DUBLIN

ALEX. THOM & CO., LTD.

PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS,
BOOKBINDERS, STATIONERS

LARGE RESOURCES FOR PRINTING IN GAELIC

Books, Magazines and Periodicals produced by Latest Methods.

Try "THOM'S" for your next Printing Order. Our Service and our Prices will please you. "Studies" is a specimen of our work. :: ::

Head Offices: CROW STREET

WORKS :: :: BOTANIC ROAD, GLASNEVIN

Telegrams—"HOSIERY, DUBLIN." Telephone No. 21770.

KENNEDY & McSHARRY

Shirt Makers, Hosiers, Hatters
and General Outfitters, :: ::

24 WESTMORELAND STREET,
—— And 3 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN

FURNITURE *by* O'DEA

studies in lasting beauty!

Each piece of O'D Furniture is a work of art in itself, the product of careful thought and skilled workmanship by Irish Artist Craftsmen. Lasting beauty has been built into O'D Furniture and beauty has been combined with utility. It stands the test of time, and after all that is the true test of excellent work. Furnish with O'D—you'll be glad you did—now and many years hence.

O'DEA & CO. LTD.

Stafford Street and Parkgate Street - Dublin.

Telegrams: "McDonogh, Chatham Street, Dublin." Telephones: 21384—21385.

MICHAEL McDONOGH & CO.

(CHATHAM STREET, DUBLIN) Ltd.

Only one quality Irish Meat—THE BEST

Special Terms Colleges, Institutions, etc.

11/12 CHATHAM STREET :: DUBLIN

ESTABLISHED 1824

T.W.&J.Kelly Ltd.

Dublin

OFFICES AND VAULTS—89 LOWER GARDINER STREET

We respectfully solicit from the HIERARCHY and CLERGY a continuance of their valued patronage for the

Pure Altar Wine

imported by us for the use of the Altar, and which we have for three generations supplied throughout Ireland, England, and the Colonies.

Price per dozen (Bottles and Carriage included) on application.

2/- per dozen allowed for Altar Wine Bottles when returned in good condition, carriage paid.

In other WINES we hold a large and well-assorted stock, together with the finest SPIRITS, both home and foreign. Lists on application.

NO CONNECTION WITH ANY OTHER FIRM IN THE TRADE

Telephone 43095 Telegrams: "Threekays, Dublin"

RATHBORNE'S

Altar Wax Candles

Irish Made

GUARANTEED AND STAMPED Reg. No. 0379

75%, 65% & 25% PURE BEESWAX

SANCTIONED BY THE HIERARCHY

IRISH BLEACHED BEESWAX. SANCTUARY & COLZA OILS

JOHN G. RATHBORNE LTD, DUBLIN

The best that money can buy

"SWEET AFTON"

RANKS SIZE CIGARETTES

10 for 6ᵈ 20 for 1/-

STUDY in FLAVOUR —on a new theme . . .

The new flavour has taken the country by storm for it certainly is something worth making a song about. Three Counties Spreadable Cheese is the easiest, tastiest and most economical bread spread you have ever enjoyed. It spreads like butter and from first to last is just sheer creamy goodness. It is made by the makers of Galtee & Whitethorn Cheeses—that means it's good . . . Get some to-day.

THREE COUNTIES *cheese*

Made by Mitchelstown Creameries, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork.

PRINTED BY SEALY BRYERS & WALKER, DUBLIN.